the weekly Standard

MARCH 31, 2003

$3.95

SIN AND SALVATION IN SCOTLAND
ALAN JACOBS

And the War Came

Stephen F. Hayes and Matt Labash in Kuwait

Christopher Caldwell and Roger Kaplan on the French

Joshua Muravchik on the Middle East

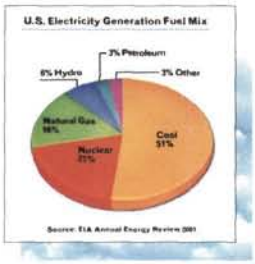
Fred Barnes, David Brooks, and Katherine Mangu-Ward on the home front

#BXNFMVD ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 WK 004870
RON UNZ NOV 29 04 000030
371 BALN 000360
555 BRYANT ST 001
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWER THAT'S MADE IN AMERICA.

Electricity from coal can strengthen America's future for centuries to come.



Electricity from coal is America's major source of affordable and reliable power. We get more than half our electricity from coal and have known reserves to meet our needs for over 250 years. Coal-generated electricity is not only abundant, it is increasingly clean. We've reduced emissions of sulfur dioxide by 40% and will reduce nitrogen oxides emissions by the same amount by 2004. This has occurred even as electricity generated from coal has increased dramatically. America can rely on electricity from coal to drive our economy, secure our future and maintain our quality of life for centuries to come. That's a powerful source of comfort for today and the future.

CARE

THE COALITION FOR AFFORDABLE AND RELIABLE ENERGY

www.CAREenergy.com | Electricity from coal. Affordable. Reliable. Increasingly clean.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

March 31, 2003 • Volume 8, Number 28

2 Scrapbook ..... *Awe, Dixie Chicks, and more.*

4 Casual ..... *Max Boot, alumnus.*

6 Correspondence..... *Weasels, Arabs, Estrada, etc.*

9 Editorial ..... *In Command*

Articles

10 Hating "l'Oncle Sam" *France unites in opposition to America*..... BY CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

12 Righteous Frenchmen *Yes, there are a few pro-Americans in France*..... BY ROGER KAPLAN

13 War Democrats *They support not just the troops, but the mission too*..... BY KATHERINE MANGU-WARD

15 The Phony Debate *The pundits are arguing about everything except what's interesting*..... BY DAVID BROOKS

16 Friends of Discrimination *The American establishment weighs in on behalf of affirmative action*.... BY TERRY EASTLAND

Cover: Getty/Scott Nelson

Features

18 Why They Fight

Meet the Free Iraqi Forces..... BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

24 All Suited Up and Nowhere to Go

The joys of Kuwait City in wartime..... BY MATT LABASH

28 The Road Map to Nowhere

Do we really need another doomed Mideast peace process?..... BY JOSHUA MURAVCHIK

Books & Arts

33 The Devil in Scotland *James Hogg's 1824 novel of sin and salvation*..... BY ALAN JACOBS

36 Oy Vey! *The anxieties of America's Jews*..... BY WERNER J. DANNHAUSER

38 Innocents Abroad *The American military's new global responsibilities*..... BY CHRISTIAN D. BROSE

39 Mugged by Surreality *Auctioning off the legacy of André Breton*..... BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

43 THE STANDARD READER ..... *Adam Wolfson on* Terror and Liberalism *by Paul Berman.*

44 Parody ..... *La Nouvelle Marseillaise.*

William Kristol, *Editor* **Fred Barnes,** *Executive Editor*
David Tell, *Opinion Editor* **David Brooks, Christopher Caldwell,** *Senior Editors* **Richard Starr, Claudia Winkler,** *Managing Editors*
J. Bottum, *Books & Arts Editor* **Matt Labash,** *Senior Writer* **Stephen F. Hayes,** *Staff Writer*
Victorino Matus, David Skinner, *Assistant Managing Editors* **Lee Bockhorn,** *Associate Editor* **Jonathan V. Last,** *Online Editor*
Katherine Mangu-Ward, *Reporter* **Rachel DiCarlo, Beth Henary,** *Editorial Assistants*
Lev Nisnevitch, *Art Director* **Philip Chalk,** *Production Director*
Max Boot, Tucker Carlson, John J. DiIulio Jr., Noemie Emery, Joseph Epstein, Andrew Ferguson, David Frum, David Gelernter, Reuel Marc Gerecht
Brit Hume, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, Tod Lindberg, P. J. O'Rourke, John Podhoretz, Irwin M. Stelzer, *Contributing Editors*
Terry Eastland, *Publisher* **David H. Bass,** *Deputy Publisher*
Nicholas H. B. Swezey, *Advertising & Marketing Manager* **John L. Mackall,** *Advertising Sales Manager* **Lauren Trotta Husted,** *Circulation Director*
Carolyn Wimmer, *Executive Assistant* **Tina Winston,** *Finance Director* **Catherine Titus,** *Publicity Director* **Taybor Cook,** *Staff Assistant*

the weekly Standard

THE WEEKLY STANDARD (ISSN 1083-3013) is published weekly (except the first week in January, the second week in July, the third week in August, and the first week in September) by News America Incorporated, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96153, Washington, DC 20090-6153; changes of address to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Yearly subscriptions. $78.00. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-850-682-7653 for subscription inquiries. Visa/MasterCard payment accepted. Cover price, $3.95. Back issues, $3.95 (includes postage and handling). Send manuscripts and letters to the editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. For a copy of THE WEEKLY STANDARD Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036. THE WEEKLY STANDARD Advertising Sales Office in Washington, DC, is 1-202-293-4900. Advertising Production: Call John L. Mackall 1-202-496-3354. Copyright 2003, News America Incorporated. All rights reserved. No material in THE WEEKLY STANDARD may be reprinted without permission of the copyright owner. THE WEEKLY STANDARD is a trademark of News America Incorporated.

BPA INTERNATIONAL

www.weeklystandard.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Importance of Awe

In the opening hours of the war, you couldn't listen to the TV commentators for more than 30 seconds without hearing the words *shock and awe*—the Pentagon code name for the barrage of missiles and bombs that would shake the Iraqi regime to its knees, assuming it didn't surrender first.

We couldn't help but detect in this phrase an echo of the prophetic analyses in these pages by our contributing editor Reuel Marc Gerecht. For several years before the 9/11 attacks and since, Gerecht warned that terrorists in the Middle East had lost their awe of American power, and that the key to stamping out terrorism would be to restore that awe. Here are a few passages:

***

"There are few things in life more debilitating than to make a threat, then fail to follow through. Particularly in the Middle East, where awe is the sine qua non of politics, being seen as 'wobbly' is fatal." ("Good Mullah, Bad Mullah," Jan. 19, 1998)

***

"Totalitarians have a sixth sense for democratic weakness. A carnivore, Saddam Hussein probably knew early on (a good guess would be June 1993, when President Clinton cruise-missiled the empty intelligence headquarters) that Washington had no will to fight. By August 1996, when the United States failed to use its airpower to defend the Iraqi National Congress's lightly armed forces against Baghdad's mechanized brigades, there was no doubt. America's *hayba*—its ability to inspire awe, the critical factor in the Middle East's ruthless power politics—had vanished. And once *hayba* is lost, only a demonstration of indomitable force restores it. . . .

"The United States must not try to win a popularity contest in the Arab world—the very act of doing so will make us appear weak. We will not grow stronger merely by reinvigorating sanctions; nor will Saddam grow weaker. If we are to protect ourselves and our friends in the Middle East, who are many, we have to rebuild the awe which we have lost through nearly a decade of retreat." ("Liberate Iraq: Is the Bush administration serious about toppling Saddam Hussein?" May 14, 2001)

***

"To defeat bin Laden and his kind, we *have* to restore our awe, and the only way you acquire and retain such majesty in the Islamic Middle East is through the use of military power. Of course, this doesn't mean that we cruise-missile an empty pharmaceutical factory in Sudan and rock-hut training camps in Afghanistan. It doesn't mean that we fire cruise missiles for a couple of weeks at the Taliban (though that would be a good beginning). It means that we get up close and personal, as Winston Churchill did at Omdurman. . . .

"America must be prepared to inflict immense damage on any other terrorist organization or terrorist-supporting state, even if that means we have to scorch southern Lebanon or Revolutionary Guard dormitories and depot facilities in Tehran. We may have to commit the necessary resources and manpower to topple Saddam Hussein." ("Bin Laden, Beware: Here's how to break the spirit of the holy warriors," Sept. 24, 2001) ♦

Bunfire of the Vanities

What's Easter without hot cross buns? Some students in England are about to find out, as four city councils have voted to remove the delightful pastries from school menus for fear of offending non-Christians. According to the *Times* of London, the move took place following some objections to pancakes served in school on Fat Tuesday. Explained a spokesman from Tower Hamlets (more than a third of whose residents are Bangladeshi): "We can't risk a similar outcry over Easter like we had on Pancake Day. We will probably be serving naan breads instead."

But are Muslims really threatening to rise up against what the *Times* jokingly calls "bigot buns" and "hate cakes"? Not quite. The Muslim Council of Britain called the action "very bizarre" and said the bun ban was "taking things a bit too far. . . . Unfortunately actions like this can only create a backlash and it is not very thoughtful. . . . British Muslims have been quite happily eating and digesting hot cross buns for many years and I don't think they are suddenly going to be offended."

This is only the latest in a series of politically correct maneuvers by the English branch of the Church of Multiculturalism. Earlier this month, a teacher in West Yorkshire banned the reading of *The Three Little Pigs* for fear of upsetting Hindu and Muslim children. The Muslim Council of Britain similarly called for an end to this ban, which it described as "well-intentioned but misguided." Not to mention pigheaded. ♦

Whistling Dixie

Country fans expressed shock and disappointment last week after the Dixie Chicks told a British audience: "Just so you know, we're ashamed the president of the United States is from Texas." The petulant comment was a sharp departure for the wholesome trio, which quickly apologized on its website for the anti-Bush pandering. Lead

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

singer Natalie Maines remained defiant, though, saying she thought the president was "ignoring the opinions of many in the U.S. and alienating the rest of the world." When this failed to placate the mob (which featured, among other highlights, a tractor in Bossier City, Louisiana, crushing a pile of the band's CDs), Maines, too, apologized, directly to the president, saying her remarks were "disrespectful."

In an interesting wrinkle, *Salon*'s Stephanie Zacharek defended the band's original remarks, though at the same time arguing that the band deserved some pro-American credit for paying homage to the military in their song "Travelin' Soldier." But this ballad of a girl who falls in love with a young man on his way to fight in Vietnam hardly does justice to the band's musically stated opinions on war. More to the point might be these lyrics from the song "More Love": *Just look out around us / People fightin' their wars / They think they'll be happy / When they've settled their scores / Let's lay down our weapons / That hold us apart / Be still for just a minute / Try to open our hearts.*

Ah yes, as the troops march on Iraq, all they need is love. And automatic rifles. And chemical suits. And gas masks. And, oh, never mind. One imagines things would be easier for the Dixie Chicks if they kept their views hidden in their music. ♦

I Scream You Scream

A couple of weeks ago, contributing editor Irwin M. Stelzer recommended a few non-French wines for the highbrow anti-Chirac crowd. Then came the much-discussed "freedom fries" for the man in the street. But what to do for dessert? You might try a bowl of I Hate the French Vanilla ice cream. The Star Spangled Ice Cream company is taking orders for this and several other politically incorrect flavors (we're partial to Iraqi Road) at *www.StarSpangledIceCream.com* ♦

Tune In, Turn On, Don't Drop Out

THE DAILY STANDARD will be covering the war in Iraq 24/7. Tune in morning, noon, and night to *weeklystandard.com* to read exclusive reports from the Middle East, Europe, and Washington. If you're a subscriber, don't forget to register on the website to take advantage of the free PDF copies of the magazine. You can then read any of our back issues, and download the new ones without waiting for the mail. ♦

Help Wanted

THE WEEKLY STANDARD has an entry-level opening for a receptionist. Duties include answering phones, greeting visitors, sorting mail, handling back-issue requests, and various other administrative tasks. Please mail your résumé to: Human Resources, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, NW, Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036. Or fax (202) 293-4901. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Casual

Back to Berkeley

Antiwar crowds are taking to the streets in London and Madrid, Washington and San Francisco. But what about Ground Zero? No, not New York. That's Ground Zero for terrorism. I mean Berkeley, California, Ground Zero for antiwar sentiment.

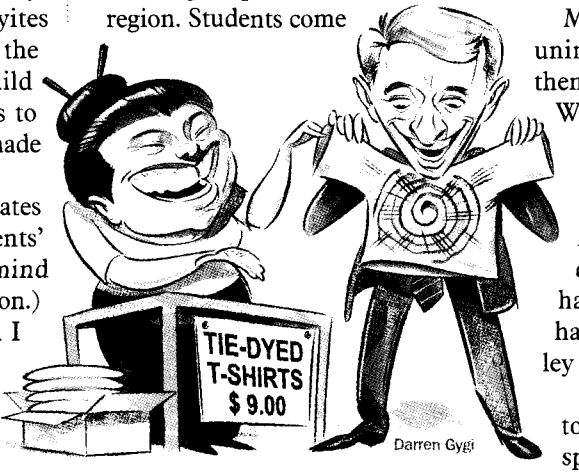
Ever since Mario Savio and the Free Speech Movement electrified the nation in 1964, this city has been famous for its protests against anything and everything. Berkeleyites have marched against apartheid, the contras, sweatshops, plans to build on People's Park, and CIA plots to water down their lattés. Okay, I made that one up.

Wars waged by the United States hold a special place in its residents' antipathies. (No one seems to mind military action by any other nation.) During the first Gulf War, when I was a student journalist at UC Berkeley, I remember covering several "No Blood for Oil" rallies.

Arriving here on the eve of another Gulf War, I expected the natives to be pretty restless. And sure enough, there was a substantial turnout of students on Sproul Plaza, the main campus gathering spot. They were well-organized, and they were buttonholing passers-by to plead their case. But these longhairs weren't protesting the war. They were longhairs of a different sort: sorority girls in tummy-baring outfits selling daffodils for charity.

It took some work to find signs of antiwar discontent. Just off campus, a grungy, middle-aged man sat behind a folding table with a large sign that said "F— Bush, F— the War." The students hurrying by didn't pay him much heed; they're used to the crazy street people who populate the area, some of whom look like they haven't bathed since I graduated more than a decade ago.

The times, they are a'changing here in Berzerkeley. This became clear during chats with officers and students of Berkeley's Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps, which sponsored a couple of my lectures. With the shutdown of numerous military installations around the Bay Area—Treasure Island, Alameda Naval Air Station, the Presidio—the Berkeley ROTC is one of the armed forces' few remaining outposts in the region. Students come here from as far away as Stanford and Davis for their training.



The midshipmen walk around campus in their smart uniforms, which make quite a contrast with the torn jeans and T-shirts favored by most students. But these larval officers report that they never get harassed by their fellow students. When I was a student, there was a lot of agitation about getting the "Rot-Sees" off campus. But recently there's been only one rally in front of the ROTC building, and the protesters were not from the university but from Berkeley High School—probably offspring of some of the 1960s relics who continue to call this area home.

I gave a couple of public lectures here advocating liberal imperialism; their theme ought to be familiar to Weekly Standard readers. I expected that such hawkish talk would draw hordes of antiwar protesters, like Deadheads to marijuana brownies. Just a decade ago, conservative speakers routinely were booed down and sent packing.

Not this time. There were, to be sure, a few skeptics in the audience. One bearded wise guy punctuated one of my speeches with loud snorts to signal his contempt. Another genius demanded to know the difference between Iraq and Israel. Weren't they both violating U.N. resolutions? Both critics, I noted, were from the Geritol set. The bulk of the audience, however, was made up of students—not all of them in the ROTC, either—and they were as polite as can be. They came to learn, not to score points.

My feelings were hurt. Was I too unimportant to draw protests? But then I thought back to the first Gulf War, when as an insignificant columnist for *The Daily Californian* I had the campus in an uproar with my articles supporting American military action. I once even got a bullet in the mail that had my name on it, literally. I haven't changed much, but Berkeley certainly has.

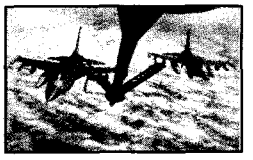
The contrast was brought home to me on Telegraph Avenue, the spiritual heart of the hippie culture. Sure enough, there was a stand selling tie-dyed T-shirts. As a nostalgic alumnus, I even bought some—and noted that the woman who took my money wasn't some stoned hippie. She was a polite Korean matron who would have looked equally at home selling vegetables. I doubt she'll be attending any antiwar rallies—unless it's to boost sales.

I almost miss the old Berkeley, now as dated as a Jefferson Airplane LP, though it left some tasty relics behind. For instance, there's Alice Waters's world-class restaurant, Chez Panisse, where I ordered dinner off "A Menu for Peace." Well, if consuming $8.75 baked Sonoma goat cheese and $18.75 fried quail constitutes a protest against the war, then sign me up. And don't forget the groovy Zinfandel.

Max Boot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Our Nation Calls . . .



Puerto Ricans Are There!

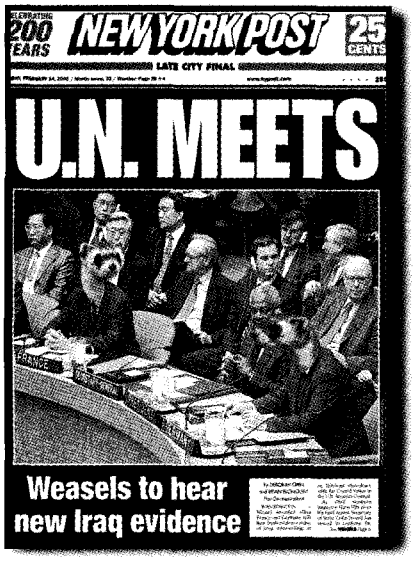
Over 200,000 Puerto Ricans have followed our country's flag into battle. When aggression touched the nation's shores, we were there. When tyrants subjugated nations in Europe, Asia and the Balkans, we joined our fellow American citizens to restore their freedom. Many combatants did not return to the Caribbean island of their birth. Some are buried in the depths of the sea or on far-flung battlegrounds. Others carry the scars of warfare. Four were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor.

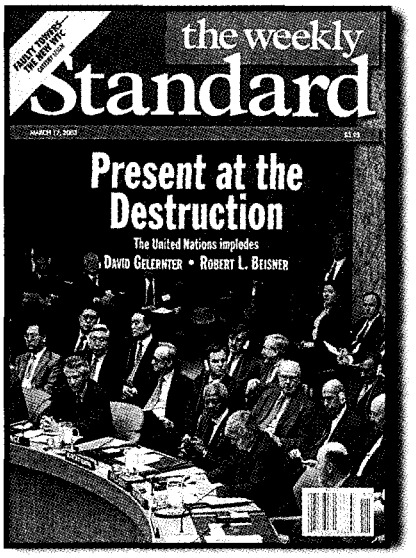
Today, as our nation confronts worldwide terrorism, Puerto Ricans are again called to help preserve our system of government and way of life. Since 9/11, over 7,000 of our Guardsmen and Reservists have been called to active duty, joining thousands more regular volunteers serving in U.S. military services. Some are now engaged in the fight to check the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Others continue in the search for Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

As we face these common dangers, we renew our commitment faithfully to carry out the orders of our Commander-In-Chief and to do so with dedication, courage and professionalism. Finally, we pray for a quick end to hostilities and the safe return of all combatants to their homes and families.

American Veterans' Committee for Puerto Rico Self-Determination
1437 Powhatan Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, 703-549-4006
Email: veteransforpr@aol.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





Weasel in the Art Dept.

The cover of the March 17 issue is incorrect. Someone has doctored the photos of the French and German foreign ministers and placed human heads where weasel heads appeared in the original photo (see above). I know this is the original photo because I saw it in the *New York Post*. Next time get it right!

Bob Dudolevitch
Springfield, VA

Is the U.N. Useless?

David Gelernter is quite right to invoke the wise E.B. White for his arguments against the United Nations, but he does him a terrible injustice by calling him a warm and early supporter of that organization ("Replacing the United Nations," Mar. 17).

White was bitterly and brilliantly opposed to the enshrining of national sovereignty in yet another international body intended to keep the peace. If you look up his wonderful but anonymous lead editorials in *The New Yorker* from the 1940s (some of them collected in a book called *The Wild Flag*) you will find that he predicted the U.N.'s inability to function as a mere confederation of nations, without reliable access to the people of the world, without the ability to raise and pay for peacekeepers, and to form transnational coalitions that looked past the parochial interests of nation-states.

He believed that only some type of true world government, with a democratic legislature and judiciary, could ever control nuclear weapons and keep the peace. He had no illusions about the likelihood of such a world regime coming into being, but he hated to see the world fool itself into another League of inaction.

Max Frankel
New York, NY

The U.N. isn't necessarily useless, but it's very flawed in its structure. Clearly an institution where France can veto the will of the United States in the Security Council or where Syria has as much influence as India (actually, where it sits in the Security Council at all) is ludicrous.

Instead of being dismantled, the U.N. should be reorganized to reward those nations who practice true democracy and grant liberty to their people. The Security Council should be disbanded and the General Assembly should allocate votes based on the number of eligible voters in a particular nation modified by a neutral index such as the Freedom House list to distinguish "true democracy" from Iraq and Syria's parodies of democracy.

Consequently, India, with hundreds of millions of voters, an independent judiciary, and a free press, would wield the highest number of votes in this General Assembly, while the group of guys running China would receive about one—the same number as Saudi Arabia, Syria, or North Korea, and fewer than Luxembourg. The votes would be recalculated annually, giving nations an incentive to expand liberty within their borders in order to move up on the Freedom House-type index and thereby garner more votes—and power—in the General Assembly.

Dan Weinfeld
New York, NY

America's Arab Problem

Certainly "France's Arab Problem" (Marc Ginsberg, Mar. 17) extends beyond Chirac's clumsy tap dance around Iraq to accrue additional power for his regime: The French must constantly placate the 20 percent of the nation's population that is now Muslim. Civil unrest among that touchy group could bring on an unimaginable conflagration of terror and civil war.

Why then does America ignore this obvious cautionary tale and continue to admit Arab-Muslim immigrants? Washington is whistling past the mosque if it thinks that repeating the mantra "Islam is a religion of peace" often enough will make it so.

After all, America did not welcome Japanese tourists during WWII, or Nazi physics students either. But that was before political correctness decreed that rejecting likely enemies was unacceptable. The result is that we can no longer discern between generosity and self-destructive stupidity.

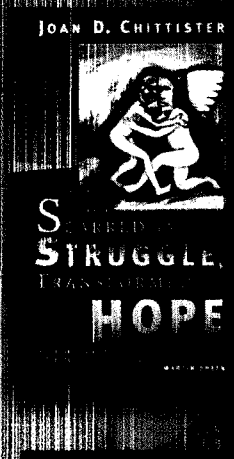
Brenda Walker
Berkeley, CA

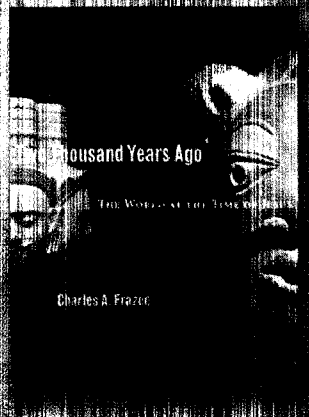
Prime Ministers

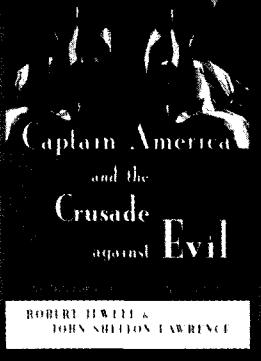
Robert Satloff's description of prime ministers in the Arab world in "The Prime Ministers Nobody Knows" (Mar. 17) is for the most part accurate, though Algeria presents a partial exception. Since the 1988 riots, which led to the end of the single-party system, Algeria has had a number of strong-willed, high-profile prime ministers who were the focus of the country's political life as much as the president under whom they served, if not more. This was particularly true in the 1988-94 period, when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Your *Spring* Book List







At your bookstore, or call 800-253-7521
www.eerdmans.com

2501

WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.
255 JEFFERSON AVE. S.E. / GRAND RAPIDS, MI 49503

GODLY AND RIGHTEOUS, PEEVISH AND PERVERSE

Clergy and Religious in Literature and Letters

Compiled by RAYMOND CHAPMAN

Hardcover · $25.00

SCARRED BY STRUGGLE, TRANSFORMED BY HOPE

JOAN D. CHITTISTER

Hardcover · $20.00

JOHN DONNE

Man of Flesh and Spirit

DAVID L. EDWARDS

Paperback • $25.00

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO

The World at the Time of Jesus

CHARLES A. FRAZEE

50 black-and-white illustrations

Hardcover • $24.00

ETTY

The Letters and Diaries of Etty Hillesum, 1941–1943

Complete and Unabridged

Hardcover • $35.00

CAPTAIN AMERICA AND THE CRUSADE AGAINST EVIL

The Dilemma of Zealous Nationalism

ROBERT JEWETT AND JOHN SHELTON LAWRENCE

Hardcover · $34.00

LIVING NEXT DOOR TO THE DEATH HOUSE

VIRGINIA STEM OWENS AND DAVID CLINTON OWENS

Hardcover · $28.00

GOD'S DIARY

JOAQUÍN ANTONIO PEÑALOSA

Translated by ALVARO DE SILVA

Hardcover • $16.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

successive prime ministers Kasdi Merbah, Mouloud Hamrouche, Sid Ahmed Ghozali, Belaid Abdesselam, and Reda Malek were prominent members of the ruling party, possessed an independent political base within and outside the power apparatus, and came into office with ambitious political projects of their own—which inevitably brought them into conflict with powerful, entrenched interests within the system. Once evicted from office they all continued to play important roles in politics, often in opposition to the policies undertaken by their successors.

The current prime minister, Ali Benflis, who has served since 1999, does not have an openly conflictual relationship with President Bouteflika, but he is hardly a lackey of the latter. Benflis is a prominent personality in his own right, and it is not out of the question that he could challenge Bouteflika for the presidency in 2004.

In Algeria's institutionally strong presidential system, the prime minister does not deal with foreign affairs, defense, or internal security. Algerian prime ministers have not been entrusted with fighting "Islamist vigilantes" and have not had the authority to weigh in on this particular matter. But power realities in Algeria are such that the theoretically strong president has also not had total authority over this either, with military men controlling the security services and calling the shots from behind the scenes in regard to anti-Islamist counterinsurgency.

Algeria is hardly a full-fledged liberal democracy—and is not likely to become one any time soon—but does deviate from the political norm in the Arab world in a number of respects. The role of the prime minister is one. Another is the fact—rather unusual for an Arab state—that two of its presidents in recent years (Ali Kafi and Lamine Zeroual) left office of their own volition, and the current one is by no means assured of serving a second term. In regard to the Palestinian Authority, one may doubt the willingness of Arafat to cede real power to his newly appointed prime minister. But the Palestinian situation today, like that in Algeria, has its particularities, and Mahmoud Abbas is neither anonymous nor a "glorified functionary." One should wait and see before passing judgment on him and on this institutional reform in the PA.

ARUN KAPIL
Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, France

ESTRADA FILIBUSTER

MAJOR GARRETT IS EITHER NAIVE or not aware of the strength of the Democrats' desire to trick the opposition when he writes in "Filibuster Sí, Estrada No!" (Mar. 17) that Democratic senator Harry Reid said "he will support Estrada if the papers are turned over and nothing objectionable emerges."

Does anyone seriously believe that Senators Schumer, Leahy, Clinton, Boxer, and even Reid won't take some innocent item in the papers and raise it as the most objectionable scandal they have ever seen? They will seize on anything they can find to continue to hold up voting on this fine judicial candidate.

If anything, I believe the Republicans have been too soft on Democrats in allowing them to get away with blocking this nomination. Also, it should be noted that every solicitor general alive today—both Democrat and Republican—has said the internal memos should not be released.

MICHAEL J. MCPHERSON
New York, NY

POSTMODERN MESS AT WTC

ONE OF THE ASSETS of THE WEEKLY STANDARD is its architecture critic, Catesby Leigh. His fresh, reasoned, accurate, and sound judgments are a highlight of the magazine. His analysis of the Daniel Liebskind design chosen for the World Trade Center site in Manhattan ("Faulty Towers," Mar. 17) is an excellent rebuttal of what is taken for conventional wisdom elsewhere. While his conclusion is understandably (and probably correctly) pessimistic for the likelihood of a distinguished solution here in New York, the only way that the results will be improved upon, however slightly, is for alternative voices to be heard.

Some readers of THE WEEKLY STANDARD might not realize the extent to which the design of public monuments is in the grip of an academic and arts establishment utterly dismissive of dissent or alternative viewpoints, despite their blather about "inclusiveness" and "healing." (Healing, it seems, will happen only when all of us adopt the views of the professional therapists/conceptual artists now in charge of such things, as evidenced by the Oklahoma City and Pentagon memorials.)

On the other hand, real healing, meaning deep reflection and reconciliation, is only likely to come about from expressions rooted in the central traditions of our art and culture, namely the classical, humanist tradition that inspired all the most beloved monuments of Washington, D.C., and elsewhere prior to the Second World War. That tradition is still alive. It has long been embraced by the public, despite being actively suppressed by the entrenched elite that now controls public taste. Public sentiment about the World Trade Center needs to find an appropriate expression, free from the narrow prescriptions of the modernist art and architecture elite. Leigh's criticism is an important contribution toward that end.

STEVEN W. SEMES
New York, NY

AL GORE HAS ONLY SAID ONE THING in his life that is accurate, and it had nothing to do with politics or policy. Gore once described postmodernism as "narcissism and nihilism."

Libeskind's plan for the World Trade Center is both. And it is awful.

STEVE NIKITAS
Pittsfield, MA

• • •

THE WEEKLY STANDARD
welcomes letters to the editor.
Letters will be edited for length and clarity and must include the writer's name, address, and phone number.
All letters should be addressed:
Correspondence Editor
THE WEEKLY STANDARD
1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505
Washington, DC 20036.

You may also fax letters: (202) 293-4901
or e-mail: editor@weeklystandard.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the weekly Standard

In Command

When President Bush set aside the Pentagon's strategy for war with Iraq and ordered an attack on Saddam Hussein and his inner circle, it created shock and awe in the media and perhaps in a few offices of Bush's own administration. It shouldn't have. The president behaved, without much ado, as a commander in chief who intends to make the major war decisions himself and not reflexively defer to the expertise of military brass. Bush relied on his own judgment and instincts—and thus acted in the best tradition of wartime leadership.

Wars have political as well as military goals, and it's left to the president to mix the two in the right combination. This is perilous business. Still, it requires boldness rather than caution. Bush delivered. He delayed the heaviest bombing in a bid to decapitate the Iraqi leadership, prompt mass surrender of Iraqi forces, minimize civilian casualties, and create postwar conditions favorable to the emergence of an Iraqi democracy. He later stepped up the bombing as originally planned, but only after American and British ground troops had penetrated far into Iraq—another unexpected sequence of events with political implications.

Bush has wisely read and imbibed the advice of military strategist Eliot Cohen in *Supreme Command*, a study of successful wartime leaders from Lincoln to Churchill. The common thread among those leaders was their insistence on taking charge, personally and aggressively, and not leaving decisions to the military. More often than not, the generals tended to be cautious in the extreme, more inclined to husband the forces under their command than commit them to battle. The most successful leaders—Lincoln, for example—overrode them.

But political leaders shouldn't simply dictate to the military, Cohen writes. What existed in the best cases was "an unequal dialogue—a dialogue, in that both sides expressed their views bluntly, indeed, sometimes offensively, and not once but repeatedly." In the end, though, the leader must be willing to impose his judgment, even on operational matters. And this is what happened at the outset of America's war with Iraq.

Just as the 48-hour deadline for Saddam to flee Iraq was nearing, the administration learned the dictator, his two sons, and several top aides were gathered in a bunker on the outskirts of Baghdad. CIA director George Tenet discussed the matter with defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld and military officials at the Pentagon, then took the intelligence to the White House. Tenet advised the president that it was "worth a shot" to try to eliminate Saddam and his entourage. Bush agreed.

This was no minor decision and was hardly risk-free. The press had been informed no hostilities would occur that evening. Attempts to hit Saddam, reputed to sleep in a different bed every night, had famously failed during the Gulf War. By suddenly changing the script, Bush delayed the Pentagon strategy, long in place, while the attack on Saddam went ahead with cruise missiles and precision-guided munitions. Meanwhile, negotiations to bring about mass surrenders of Iraqi soldiers went forward. Why bother with all this, since a quick military victory was inevitable? The reasons are political. Killing Saddam would shorten the war and minimize casualties. The fewer civilian deaths, the more humane and popular the war. The less destruction of Iraq's infrastructure, the easier the task of rebuilding the country. And so on.

The good news about the military was its readiness to adjust plans and go after Saddam. General Tommy Franks, the American commander in the field, proved remarkably flexible. He ordered warplanes into the air, while awaiting orders, even before the president made a final decision to revise the strategy. Cruise missiles were quickly re-targeted. And in the end, the attack on Saddam may turn out to have been a pivotal step, paralyzing the Iraqi leadership.

The president understood the key lessons of the Gulf War in 1991 and of the war in Afghanistan last year. The mistake of the first was leaving Saddam in power with weapons of mass destruction. The mistake of the second was the hesitation in putting boots on the ground. The Afghan government of Hamid Karzai is now paying the price—Karzai's political authority barely extends beyond the suburbs of Kabul. Bush is eager to avoid that mistake in Iraq.

And there's another mistake to avoid. The president should be as active in making decisions on postwar Iraq as he has been in the war itself. No doubt the State Department, the United Nations, the European Union, and God knows who else will want to impose their thinking. Rather than defer, Bush should again trust his own judgment.

—Fred Barnes, for the Editors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hating "L'Oncle Sam"

France unites in opposition to America.

BY CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

Paris

As the United States and many of its European allies girded for war last week, France's popular interior minister Nicolas Sarkozy announced that his office had "no precise information indicating any terrorist threats" in France. Nonetheless, the presence of substantial American interests—from fast-food joints (too many!) to cultural monuments—led Sarkozy to double the number of anti-terrorist operatives assigned to the national "Vigipirate" program, which keeps transit hubs and public areas under surveillance for bombs and other threats. Last Thursday, the Vigipirate officers, searching a locker in the Gare de Lyon train station in Paris, found vials with traces of ricin, the same poison that had been found on suspected terrorists arrested in London in January.

Nonetheless, France believes its position as leader of the worldwide opposition to the American-led attack on Iraq has given it a measure of shelter from the terrorist storm—or at least bought it some time. And France's estrangement from the new—military—part of the war on terror is almost complete. As Americans rallied around President Bush when the war began, the French rallied around their antiwar president. And with the popularity of Jacques Chirac soaring, his advisers are seeking to turn the magic of the moment to a vital end: solving the festering domestic Clash of Civilizations between "Old France" and its Arab immigrant population.

A demonstrator waves the Iraqi flag

Getty / Pascal Le Segretain

Chirac's stance against the war has provided something all French governments seek, but most lack: common ground with the country's poor, crime-prone, and discriminated-against "Arabo-Muslim" minority. North African immigrants and their second- and third-generation French offspring, known as *beurs*, account for 10 percent of the French population, by conservative estimates. (France does not collect ethnic data in its census.) Only under extraordinary circumstances do most non-Arab Frenchmen view their presence without trepidation. The 1998 World Cup—won by a French squad that included many Frenchmen of Arab descent—was such a circumstance. These days of wild popularity for Chirac's anti-American position—and the wave of street demonstrations that are its most visible sign—are turning out to be another.

Chirac is in a better position than most to woo Muslims, French and otherwise. He has long been something of a hero in the Arab world. It was he who, as prime minister, arranged the sale of the Osirak nuclear reactor to Saddam Hussein in the late 1970s. When Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin was pelted with stones for describing Hezbollah as a "terrorist" group on a visit to the West Bank in 1999, Chirac angrily reminded Jospin that foreign policy gets made by the president, not the prime minister. The French press has been full of reports in recent days that Palestinian families have begun to name their newborn boys "Chirac." When he visited Algeria early this month, crowds estimated at over a million turned out to acclaim him. And a new book that arrived in Paris bookstores last week—*L'Orient de Jacques Chirac*, written by the Egyptian journalist and literary critic Ahmed Youssef—compares Chirac to Alexander the Great and Aladdin. Indeed, Youssef meekly expresses his hope that he might serve as Cicero to Chirac's Caesar, or Stendhal to his Napoleon.

Chirac is seeking to put this kudos among Muslims to use for his country.

Christopher Caldwell is a senior editor at The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The recent insistence of Chirac and his foreign minister Dominique de Villepin that the United Nations is the sole source of legitimacy in the postwar rebuilding of Iraq is a sign that France is bidding for a role as leader of what used to be called the "non-aligned" movement. (France's ongoing military intervention in Ivory Coast is another such sign.) This is an old French dream—but it is a decidedly un-Gaullist one. As Jean-Claude Casanova, editor of the prestigious quarterly *Commentaire*, noted recently, de Gaulle was a U.N. skeptic. "It goes without saying," the general said during his presidency, "that under no circumstances will France accept that a collection of more or less totalitarian states and past masters of dictatorship and newly invented states . . . should dictate the law to it."

But the *domestic* ends for which Chirac seeks to use his popularity are arguably more important. French public opinion has come into sync with the opinion of its Arab immigrants and their children. On such matters as American militarism and the Middle East, its poll numbers resemble those of an Arab country. When the French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) asked citizens whether they approved of the American attacks on Iraq, the answer was *Non*, by 87 percent to 12 percent. Voters do approve of Chirac's position by 92 percent to 8 percent. Under such circumstances, Muslims feel themselves much more part of the country than they did in 1991, when François Mitterrand's decision to join the coalition in Operation Desert Storm was wildly unpopular among them.

It is true that this fellow feeling has cost Chirac a certain price in ideological coherence. Against American claims that France is behaving as an "objective ally" of Saddam, antiwar Frenchmen have consistently argued that their opposition to war should not be confused with support for the Iraqi tyrant. But at marches that started in front of the American embassy off the Place de la Concorde last Thursday evening, the day after the bombing began, a group of Iraqis waving their country's flag were the first to arrive. They led a march that eventually drew between 60,000 and 80,000 people, chanting *Allahu Akbar!* and

Le Napalm!
Ce n'était pas Saddam!
Ce n'était pas l'Islam!
C'était l'Oncle Sam!

Even if integrating the country's Muslim citizens into French life is a worthy goal, using the war to that end is risky. After all, Muslim citizens themselves want a say in how they are integrated. The first protest march—and perhaps the angriest—began shortly after the sun rose on Thursday, after the first night of bombing. A group of young *beurs*, started in the Cité des Quatre Mille, a heavily Arab apartment complex in the suburb of La Courneuve, battled with riot police as they moved into nearby Aubervilliers, and were not dispersed until they approached the center of Saint-Denis, burial site of France's kings and queens. As one kid told *Le Figaro*, "Let's hope Iraq wins, *Inshallah*! They're Muslims. God is with them."

A certain current of Franco-Arab public opinion has even petitioned Chirac to take this occasion to lower France's guard against terrorism. Boualem Azahoum, a representative of the activist group DiversCité, told reporters on Thursday, "There's no reason there should be tensions in France. The government would be better off focusing its vigilance on making sure the Vigipirate programs aren't put into effect in a heavy-handed way. These are the kind of measures that can create tensions on the street." In other words, we have nothing to be vigilant against except vigilance itself.

But the most widespread worry voiced in France is not over young *beurs* in particular but over protesters in general. It is that frequent televised scenes of devastation in Iraq will provoke real street demonstrations engaging the whole country. There is an unsettling ratcheting up of tension at anti-American protests across Europe.

Camp Darby, the U.S. army base outside of Pisa, has always been an attractive Sunday destination for peaceniks. But at a march there last November, some of the participants had motorcycle helmets of the sort used in the more violent anti-globalization protests. At the most recent Camp Darby demonstration a few weeks ago, a group of protesters managed to breach the perimeter of the base. In Germany, protests have moved closer and closer to sensitive American installations. There are no American bases in France, of course, but that does not foreclose the possibility of an equally calamitous escalation. France, after all, from the storming of the Bastille through May 1968, has been a place where demonstrations are routine things until the moment they become non-routine things. ♦

Renew your subscription

. . . without licking a stamp!

Just go to weeklystandard.com and click on the Renew button in the red menu bar. Then follow the simple directions.

the weekly Standard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Righteous Frenchmen

Yes, there are a few pro-Americans in France.

BY ROGER KAPLAN

PIERRE LELLOUCHE, who represents a Paris district in the French National Assembly, did not appreciate being called "Pierre Laval" during a recent foreign policy debate in parliament. A leading defense expert who backed Ronald Reagan's strong stand against the Soviet Union in the 1980s when many in France thought it reckless, Lellouche is a member of the neo-Gaullist Union for the Presidential Majority, led by President Jacques Chirac. But he opposes Chirac's policy on Iraq. To liken Lellouche, who is of Tunisian Jewish background, to Vichy prime minister Laval, who ordered French police to assist in the Holocaust, is worse than tasteless. It's a historical fraud, assimilating pro-Nazi "collaboration" during World War II with support for the United States today, and anti-Nazi "resistance" with opposition to unseating Saddam Hussein.

The reality, according to Lellouche, is that President Chirac and the left, which supports his Iraq policy, are the ones who are engaging in a policy of appeasement, as Laval did in the 1930s and 1940s. "Nobody wants war," Lellouche notes, "but it is Saddam [not Bush] who is a mass-murderer." With the French media and political class overwhelmingly behind Chirac, Lellouche is one of a handful of prominent politicians willing to speak up for Bush's Iraq policy. But these few are making themselves heard.

The most remarkable sign of this is the support their views are receiving in France's large immigrant community, which comes mainly from Islamic countries in North Africa. In March, for example, the writer Ferhat Mehenni, a prominent Algerian expatriate activist, published a long analysis of the Middle East crisis in *La Dépêche de Kabylie*, an Algerian publication in Paris. He wrote: "The U.S. goal is to democratize the Middle East to eradicate the sources of terrorism and substitute regimes of liberty for confrontations between cultures. . . . [F]or France, the stakes are the viability of its Jacobin model, its influence in this part of the world, and its oil supplies, guaranteed by Saddam."

Ferhat Mehenni is here making a connection between France's centralizing, authoritarian, statist, "Jacobin" tradition and its aggressive opposition to an American international program that, he believes, would encourage decentralized, democratic forms of government respectful of cultural and religious differences, not only in the Middle East but also in the ex-French colonies of Africa, which are his chief concern. This latter is known as the "Girondin" political tradition (from the Jacobins' opponents during the Revolution), and it is represented in politics by libertarians like former finance minister Alain Madelin (whom Ferhat Mehenni supports) and in the world of ideas by writers like Jean-François Revel.

In this regard, it is by no means certain that French public opinion is as pro-Chirac as is being reported in the American press. Revel's new book, *The Anti-American Obsession*, has been one of the season's big hits. The extraordinary success of this work, subtitled *How it functions, where it comes from, and why it is a dead end*, suggests that there is a substantial readership in France not only for Revel's robust refutation of the arguments prevalent in the French media (Republicans are "cowboys," Bush's "fundamentalism" is the same as Osama's, etc.), but for his vigorous defense of American institutions and foreign policy.

Where Ferhat Mehenni sees a Jacobin—or statist—streak in anti-Americanism, Revel sees also an evasion of responsibility. The conflicts between Israel and the Arab states, the misery of Africa, global warming, and the price of beef in Europe have all been blamed on the United States. Revel uses the comment by the Nobel Prize winner Dario Fo to underscore the absurdity of the blame-America-first-last-and-always position: "What are 20,000 dead in New York," asks the Italian literary genius, "compared with the millions killed by [American] speculators?"

This flight into unreason expresses, as the legal scholar Yves Roucaute points out, "the spirit of Munich hovering over France." It also represents the hedonistic, selfish spirit of the age, notes historian Pierre Rigoulot. The typical slogan of French "anti-war" marchers, observes Rigoulot, has been "*Foutez-nous la paix*," which of course means "F— off," or, to put it more delicately, What do the Iraqi people matter to us?

This is precisely the attitude rejected by the philosopher André Glucksmann, a former leftist whose anti-communism had a wide influence in intellectual circles in the 1980s. With two comrades-in-arms, the writer Pascal Bruckner and the filmmaker Romain Goupil, Glucksmann signed an op-ed in *Le Monde* on March 10. It recalls that in 1991 the three called for European military intervention in the former Yugoslavia and were met with derision. "The pacifists claimed intervention would bring on a world war. Yet eight years and 200,000 victims later, it was indeed armed intervention by NATO that saved Kosovo and

Roger Kaplan is the author of Conservative Socialism, *about contemporary France, recently published by Transaction.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought Milosevic to trial at The Hague."

Glucksmann and company note that "antiwar" marchers in Europe demonize George Bush but forget that Saddam is a disciple of Stalin and the murderer of his own people. In this regard, as Rigoulot writes, the "pro-Americans" are the true progressives since they say the moral obligation to rescue the Iraqi people trumps the claim by Chirac and others that national sovereignty must be respected no matter how it is exercised.

A student of the sorry record of French intellectuals vis à vis the Nazi and Communist movements of the past century, Rigoulot—who happens also to be an authority on Korea and takes a dim view of the North—believes that his contemporaries could be making another monumental error in their assessment of the latest totalitarian threat to liberal democracy.

Less pessimistic, the essayist and news commentator Michel Gurfinkiel believes Lellouche has far more support among right-wing members of parliament than meets the eye. Even on the left, he notes, there are those, like former finance minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn, who are appalled by the unconditional backing Chirac is receiving from the Socialists and the smaller left-wing parties. Another popular figure of the moderate left, Bernard Kouchner, founder of Doctors Without Borders and a former U.N. commissioner in Kosovo, supports intervention in Iraq to remove Saddam, but he is working at Harvard this year and thus is not a full participant in the intra-French debate.

But positions and principles are worth little if they aren't publicly espoused and made to enter the shared consciousness. This too is an old French story.

In 1777 a very young man sailed across the Atlantic, determined to place himself at the service of the great fight for freedom that George Washington—soon to become his mentor and best friend—was leading. This young man was Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roche Gilbert du Motier, the marquis de Lafayette.

It is worth remembering that, except during the brief period of constitutional monarchy from 1789 to 1791, Lafayette was a prophet without honor in his own country. He opposed Napoleon's despotism, and, despite his contributions to the feeble progress toward democracy in France during the 1830s, he is today a mostly forgotten figure. This comes as a surprise and a disappointment to Americans, who are familiar with the mutual admiration of Washington and Lafayette. They should appreciate the more his political descendants, who are staying on the job under difficult circumstances. ♦

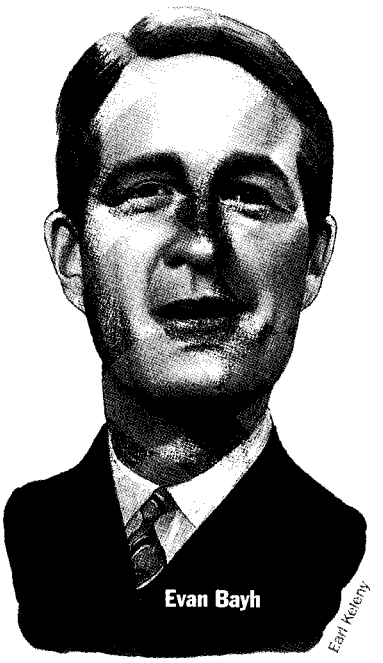
War Democrats

They support not just the troops, but the mission too. BY KATHERINE MANGU-WARD

IT'S BEEN TOUGH for Democrats to avoid the temptation to badmouth the president. With Senate minority leader Tom Daschle calling him a "diplomatic failure" and worse, reporters seem to be begging prominent Democrats to bash Bush at every press conference, in every interview. Conflict does make for good TV.

But now the nation is at war. A few Democrats quickly stepped up to support the president and the goal of disarming Saddam Hussein as heartily as they could manage. For the duration of the campaign in Iraq, at least, they are war Democrats.

Everyone "supports the troops," but not all support the mission and the president by name. Daschle gives away the game when he says, "There's a difference between the troops and the administration of a war." Not all Democrats think so.


Evan Bayh

Earl Kelleny

Katherine Mangu-Ward is a reporter at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

Some of them endorse the goal of disarming Saddam, but refrain from praising the president's tactics. "I have not always agreed with the steps the administration has taken during the preparations for this military action," said Senate minority whip Harry Reid, "but I agree with—and have long supported—the ultimate goal of disarming Saddam Hussein."

Reid is one of the many Democrats who seem to have redirected their name-calling from Bush to Saddam for the time being. Reid calls Saddam a "despicable tyrant." Other Democrats have come up with choice epithets such as, "brutal, brutal sadistic dictator," "scum," and "evil aggressor."

Presidential hopeful John Edwards, senator from North Carolina, was willing to get booed last week at the annual California Democratic party convention for saying that he backs the aims of the war. "I believe that Saddam Hussein is a serious threat, and I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

believe he must be disarmed including the use of military force if necessary." His speech on foreign policy was interrupted by chants of "No war! No war!" and "We want [Howard] Dean" from the crowd of delegates.

Edwards hopes that dissenting from the ranks of antiwar Democratic candidates will set him apart as a man of presidential stature and conviction. He says it is "a test of presidential leadership to have the backbone to say to those who strongly disagree with you, even your friends, what you believe."

Senator Evan Bayh, a Democrat from Indiana and member of the intelligence and armed services committees, has long supported disarming Saddam. On *The O'Reilly Factor* last Monday he was unstinting in his praise of Bush. "I support the president's efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein. I think he was right on in his speech tonight," he said. When asked what Bush could have done differently to gain an eighteenth U.N. resolution, Bayh responded that he could not think of "a single thing."

Bayh prefers not to talk of the war in political terms "because the subject is too important." Also trying to avoid partisan divisions now that the war is underway is Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut. A well-established hawk, Lieberman said in a speech to the International Association of Firefighters early last week: "We stand together with [the troops] today and pray for their swift victory and safe return. We do not do so as Democrats or Republicans or Independents, but as Americans. We must never forget that there is no 'D' or 'R' on the uniforms of our soldiers . . . only the letters U.S.A." Then Lieberman joined the small pro-Bush chorus: "It is time to come together and support our men and women in uniform and their commander in chief."

Another point on which these Democrats refuse to dwell is the failure of diplomacy. "Some people are disappointed that diplomacy didn't work," said Bayh when asked to account for the divide in his party. "And some people blame the United States. I blame the United Nations. I blame some of our allies." Either way, diplomacy is in the past, he says, since "Saddam responds to force, not negotiation."

Sen. Joe Biden sides with Bayh on diplomacy. Last week he said the magic words: "I support the president. Diplomacy over avoiding war is dead. It does not make any sense to debate whether we screwed up the diplomacy."

New Mexico's Democratic governor and a former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson agrees. "I regret how the U.N. issue turned out. But I think this is a time to close ranks, to support the commander in chief, support our troops, and I do want to commend the administration."

Early on, the few war Democrats stood out, but by the end of the week, even Daschle seemed to show a change of heart. "Once our president makes the decision to commit troops," he said, "the Congress has always come together to speak with one voice for one purpose. . . . We may have had differences of opinion about what brought us to this point, but the president is the commander in chief, and today we unite behind him." ♦

Michael Ramirez

COLLATERAL DAMAGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Phony Debate

The pundits are arguing about everything except what's interesting about the war. BY DAVID BROOKS

As I WRITE, a couple of days into the war, the hawks are optimistic and the liberals are bracing to get beaten about with sticks. The hawks are optimistic because the Iraqi regime seems to be crumbling. None of the terrible things the doves predicted has yet come to pass: no mass riots on the Arab street, no coup in Pakistan or Jordan, no Scuds landing on Tel Aviv, no surge in oil prices, no fierce resistance from the Iraqis, either from the soldiers or the men in the streets. "Surging hope" is how Andrew Sullivan describes his mood.

Meanwhile on the left, it's like settling in for a long, cold winter. "Brace yourself for a round of I-told-you-sos from Iraq hawks," Robert Wright writes in *Slate*. "In the foreseeable future," Al Hunt concedes in the *Wall Street Journal*, "the Bush critics will be very much on the defensive."

War opponents emphasize that while things might go well in the short term, in the long term, Iraq is likely to be a mess.

Honorable liberals also find themselves twisted into an emotional pretzel, hoping that their forebodings about the war are proven wrong, but not quite looking forward to a moment when Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz might be proven right. A *New York Times* editorial aptly summarizes their conflicted mood: "If things go as well as we hope, even those who sharply disagree with the logic behind this war are likely to end up feeling reassured, almost against their will, by the successful projection of American power."

Surrendering Iraqis, March 21

AP / Laura Rauch

The striking thing about the early commentary on the war is that very little of it is actually on the war. Some people, mostly on the left, are still rehashing yesterday's debate on whether to go to war in the first place. Leon Fuerth, Al Gore's foreign policy guru, published an antiwar op-ed in the *Washington Post* the day after hostilities started. A group of liberal Jews took out a full-page ad urging Bush not to go to war as U.S. troops were surging into Iraq. Four days after the U.N. process ended, Michael Kinsley wrote a column rehashing the arguments for working within the U.N. Toward the end of it, Kinsley declared that "George W. Bush is now the closest thing in a long time to dictator of the world," elevating him to Napoleon and Caesar rank.

Meanwhile, others, mostly on the hawkish side, are deep in the middle of the argument about the post-Saddam world. Kanan Makiya, in his superb online diary for the *New Republic*, has issued daily updates on the Iraqi opposition movement. Charles Krauthammer has written a characteristically bold column arguing against going back to the U.N. once the conflict is over. Dennis Ross has published a fascinating piece in the *Wall Street Journal* describing how leaders across the Arab world, sensing the prevailing winds, have begun repositioning themselves as democratic reformers.

It is as if you had one prewar political debate about whether to go to war, and another debate on how to rebuild Iraq postwar, but the war itself is a political vacuum that only military analysts and retired generals are qualified to talk about.

That's too bad, because the conduct of this war is so strikingly political. Has there ever been a conflict in the history of man in which the one army strove so mightily to *not* kill the soldiers of the other army? Has there ever been a war that began, even before the enemy was engaged, with the secretary of defense issuing instructions on how the other side should surrender? One gets the impression that U.S. military dominance is now so overwhelming that the rules of conflict are being rewritten. And yet there was little discussion, at least at the outset, over exactly what this means.

David Brooks is a senior editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One also gets the sense that the standards of victory have shifted. Now, everybody seems to assume, it isn't enough just to beat the enemy; you have to beat them without becoming unpopular amongst them. You have to beat them without making yourself more unpopular with the world. This is some vague but mighty shift in expectations. And about this too there has been relatively little discussion.

I suspect the reason there is so little political analysis of the war itself is that we are all conditioned by memories of Desert Storm. The hawks are quick to feel vindicated because they were vindicated by the incredible success of that earlier fight, and the doves are prepared for another round of patriotic chest-thumping. Both sides assume that the war is a momentary pause between political debates.

But it should be said that we are all mis-remembering the earlier war. If you go back and read the media amidst the air campaign in 1991, you find that Americans were gloomy about how things were going: Iraqi women and children were being killed, and nothing good seemed to be happening. According to a study done by Robert Lichter at the time, nearly 60 percent of media stories about U.S. policy in the Gulf were negative. Americans, *Time* magazine reported on February 18, 1991, "have a vague feeling of unease, if not outright disillusionment, that the fighting seems nowhere near a conclusion." Most Americans, polls revealed, believed the war would take longer than six months. It is only in retrospect that we see Desert Storm as a cakewalk.

Today, we could be just as wrong amidst this war as we were amidst that one. Or we could be entering the age of decapitating wars, in which the United States can change evil regimes without widespread loss of life. Either way, the politics of warfare is being transformed, and someday we are going to sit back and marvel that we didn't pay more attention to the political considerations embedded in the conduct of this war itself. ♦

Friends of Discrimination

The American establishment weighs in on behalf of affirmative action. BY TERRY EASTLAND

THE MICHIGAN AFFIRMATIVE action cases, which the Supreme Court will hear on April 1, have attracted more than 100 friend-of-the-court briefs, a record number. The overwhelming majority of these amicus curiae filings support the university. Among the signatories are more than 300 organizations, including scores of elite educational institutions and some of the nation's most prominent corporations, as well as foundations and professional associations. A small army of retired military officers, many of them well known, like Norman Schwarzkopf, have signed one brief. To the extent it is still possible to speak of an establishment in America, the establishment is standing proudly with Michigan.

Michigan, it turns out, recruited many of these amici. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Lee Bollinger, the university's president until recently, said, "We realized [that] the only way to win on this was to unite higher ed and bring in mainstream America." Maybe. But it's also possible that the briefs in support of Michigan will turn the Court against the university.

One of the Michigan cases is a challenge to the admissions policy used by the undergraduate college, the other a challenge to the policy used by the law school. The essential fact in both cases is the different treatment of individuals according to their race. The undergraduate school treats applicants who are African American, Hispanic, and American Indian differently from all other applicants by awarding them 20 points out of a possible 150, with 100 points usually sufficing for admission. The law school gives a "plus" that it describes as "not insignificant" to applicants who are African American, Hispanic, and Native American (a larger classification than American Indian).

In the two cases, applicants lacking a preferred race or ethnicity contend that the admissions policies constitute discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits a state from denying to any person the equal protection of the laws. The Court's Fourteenth Amendment doctrine permits government to use race so long as it has a very good reason for doing so, and so long as there is no way to achieve its goals other than a very careful use of race. Michigan's well-known rationale is diversity. It wants to create classes that are sufficiently diverse, including racially and ethnically diverse, to enhance the education of all students. And it claims that the only way to ensure this is to use, in effect, a racial double standard in admissions.

Michigan obviously felt that its chances of winning in the Supreme Court would improve if it had by its side the many amici it has assembled. While the justices themselves typically read few amicus filings, they doubtless are aware of the briefs in the Michigan cases. The message they take from those briefs, however, may not be the supportive one Michigan intended.

The briefs confirm that virtually every selective college or university or professional school in the nation uses race in admissions, and for the

Terry Eastland is publisher of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same reason Michigan does—diversity. But their larger point is that the nation's economy and governance, indeed its very well-being, depends upon a system of higher education that maintains racial double standards in admissions.

The Court may go along with this. But if it does, it will have to swallow hard. The problem is less the goal of diversity than the means of achieving it. And the message the Michigan amici send is that we should happily indulge racial double standards and not worry about the discrimination they require or the extent to which they encourage people to view themselves and others in terms of race and ethnicity. Nor should we worry about how long those standards must be employed. Indeed, the logic of diversity-based affirmative action makes it hard to see how it would ever end. For so long as any racial or ethnic group had grade point averages or test scores lower than those of other groups, there would always be the need to distinguish applicants by race and take special measures to ensure that enough of the lower-scoring group got in—otherwise the educational experience of all students would suffer. Only if each group had more or less the same qualifications could an admissions office quit preferring certain applicants on the basis of race and ethnicity.

In sum, the message Michigan and its amici are sending the Court is that a properly diverse America requires the institutionalization of procedures that treat people differently depending on their race and ethnicity. That message is significantly different from the one offered the Court in most of its previous affirmative action cases—namely, that race must be taken into account temporarily, to remedy past discrimination. For the Court to accept Michigan's argument, it would have to get over its scruples about race-based classifications, which it has expressed even in cases where it has approved them. It would have to bring itself to believe, for example, that Justice Blackmun was wrong in the 1978 *Bakke* case when, writing in support of affirmative action in admissions, he hoped for the day when affirmative action would be "only a relic of the past" and when "persons will be regarded as persons," without regard to race and ethnicity.

More than merely being unable to accept Michigan's message, the Court may be troubled by it, so much so that it decides to reexamine Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which the plaintiffs also invoke. Title VI says, "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Because the University of Michigan receives federal money, it must abide by Title VI.

Like the other provisions of the Civil Rights Act, Title VI is a colorblind statute. Influenced by the arguments of the original civil rights movement (before the movement embraced racial preferences), its framers understood "discrimination" to mean (in the words of Sen. Hubert Humphrey) "a distinction in treatment given to different individuals because of their different race." The reason anyone might give for making such a distinction in treatment doesn't matter: The law flatly outlaws discrimination.

Of course, five justices in the *Bakke* case rewrote Title VI, changing it from a colorblind law to one that "prohibits only those uses of racial criteria that would violate the Fourteenth Amendment if employed by a State or its agencies." Understandably, the parties and the amici on both sides of the Michigan cases have mostly offered the Court their views on the Fourteenth Amendment. But there is no good reason the Court couldn't decide to distinguish Title VI from the Constitution, recover the colorblind rule of Title VI, and enforce it. Were that to happen, it would be up to Congress to decide whether to amend Title VI to permit race-based distinctions—that is, to make racial discrimination acceptable under our civil rights laws. You can bet that Michigan and its supporters would be among the first to lobby Congress to do just that. ♦

Don't Miss A Word!

Visit www.weeklystandard.com for The Daily Standard's exclusive war coverage. Frequent reports from the Middle East, Europe, and Washington.

the daily Standard

Daily Standard • Info • Search • Subsc

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why They Fight

Meet the Free Iraqi Forces

By Stephen F. Hayes

Outskirts of Kuwait City

In a quiet moment some three weeks before the United States sent 40 Tomahawk missiles and several 2,000-pound bombs into Baghdad, an Iraqi-American man named Hakim contemplated his mission. He had graduated that day from a training course that the U.S. military had provided to Iraqis to prepare them for the work they are now doing, side by side with American soldiers near the Iraqi border. Why, Hakim was asked, did he choose to leave a comfortable life in America to join U.S. troops in Iraq?

Our story is the story of the 22 million Iraqis. They spent the last 35 years in total dictatorship, stripped [of] their dignity and freedom. Our mission is a mission of liberation for a free and democratic nation, got to be part of the world.

When did he leave Iraq?

I live all my life, I born there. I left the country in 1974, when I realized at a very early age that the country gonna go down the hill under such management—they are a gang rather than a leader.

Moments later, another question. "You've just completed your training of approximately one month. Do you feel as dedicated today as when you first came here?"

In fact my mission started 26 years ago, I never lay down, I never sleep. But the training within the last four weeks has just bringed that dream back to reality. And the closer I come to the mission, the more I get fired up and the more I get emotional. In fact, I think it's still with me. Every time I look at a friend here with me at training, I see a brother suffering there in the prison or torture or disappear. I see a piece of child lost his happiness and smile for years. I see a face of woman has been stripped out of their dignity for the last 35 years. I see a waste of resources of a great country and cradle of civilization has been waste. Today is the day where the mission start and I'm comforted more than ever.

This exchange comes from a series of exit interviews taped by the U.S. government and obtained by The Weekly Standard. The interviews were conducted by government personnel, and some of the questions, perhaps those above, could fairly be described as leading. But any doubt that Hakim expressed the beliefs of a great many Iraqis was shattered Friday, when Iraqis greeted American soldiers with dancing, handshakes, and hugs. Kuwaiti television captured the scene in the southern Iraqi city of Safwan, a town notable because it's where coalition and Iraqi military leaders signed the cease-fire that ended the first Gulf War in 1991.

Some cheered and chanted "Ameriki! Ameriki!" when U.S. Marines ripped down the omnipresent, oversized portraits of Saddam Hussein. One man pounded Saddam's face with his shoe. Maj. David "Bull" Gurfein started another cheer, and several Iraqi men joined in. "Iraqis! Iraqis! Iraqis!"

An Iraqi named Ali Khemy spoke to Ellen Knickmeyer of the Associated Press. "Americans very good," he offered. "Iraq wants to be free." A young man concurred. "No Saddam Hussein! Bush!"

Earlier, on Thursday, the United Nations secretary general had expressed his disappointment that the war had begun. Twelve years and seventeen U.N. resolutions hadn't been enough. "Perhaps if we had persevered a little longer Iraq could yet have been disarmed peacefully," he had said.

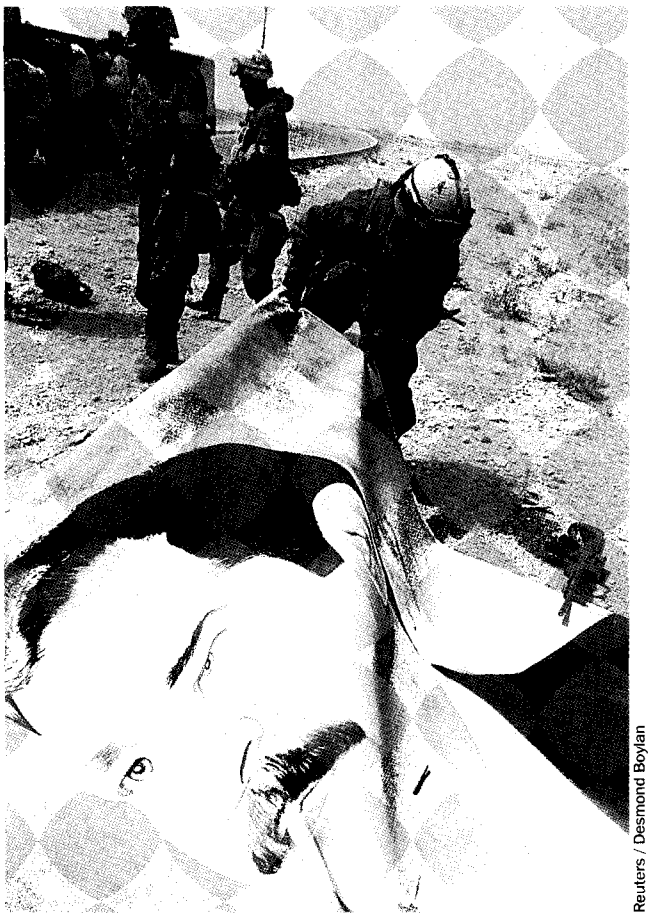
Then, he had changed the subject, saying, "My thoughts today are with the Iraqi people."

If Kofi Annan is now thinking of the Iraqi people, they might be forgiven for asking, What took you so long? The Iraqi people have officially been in the thoughts of the U.N. Security Council since April 5, 1991, when that body declared itself "seized of the matter"—the matter, that is, of the mass slaughter of the Iraqi people by their outlaw leader. The words of Resolution 688, one of the first U.N. resolutions passed after the Gulf War, were strong. The Security Council, it said,

> Condemns the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas, the consequences of which threaten international peace and security in the region; Demands that Iraq, as a contribution to remove the threat to international peace and security in the region, immediately end this repression, and expresses the hope in the same context that an open dialogue will take place to ensure

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Reuters / Desmond Boylan

Marines in Umm Qasr, Iraq, March 21

that the human and political rights of all Iraqi citizens are respected.

Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have been killed since the U.N. made that dramatic and worthless paper proclamation. Some, perhaps as many as one million, perished from causes related to U.N. sanctions imposed because Saddam would not disarm. Others died directly at the hands of the Iraqi dictator—by political assassination, random execution, or mass killing.

However noble Kofi Annan's intentions, if he had had his way, these atrocities would have continued. While he convened meetings between Cameroon and France, while he discussed human rights doctrines sipping tea on New York's East Side, while he wished for "an open dialogue" on Iraq, more Iraqis would have died.

Kofi Annan lost that argument. The "peace" he so desired, which really wasn't so peaceful at all, has given way to war. And the Iraqis, despite their apprehension about the human costs of the conflict, have begun to celebrate their freedom.

As Annan spoke to television cameras on Thursday, Hakim, one of the Iraqis who occupy the secretary general's thoughts, was working with U.S. troops in the desert near the Iraqi border. The world's top diplomat was talking. The middle-aged Iraqi-American petrochemical engineer was preparing for war.

On Sunday, March 9, two men who desperately wanted to join the U.S. troops in the Gulf summoned me to the Microtel Inn near Dulles Airport in Northern Virginia. I had gotten to know them on a recent trip to Dearborn, Michigan. Both had been flown to Dulles by the Majid al-Khoei Foundation, a nonprofit Muslim cultural and philanthropic center. Its namesake and current general secretary, Sayed Abdul Majid al-Khoei, a Shia Muslim cleric, is by reputation a moderate. He has written recently for *National Review* and is featured in a State Department public diplomacy campaign called "Iraq's Voices of Freedom." The foundation's plan, as one of the participants told me, was to dispatch teams of 15 Iraqi exiles to cities and towns throughout Iraq to "settle the people" once the fighting began.

The Microtel is a huge pre-fab building off of the toll road that takes D.C. visitors to Dulles airport. It sits at the confluence of overdeveloped and rural, one of the last of the gleaming, sharp-edged modern structures before you reach the terminal.

The lobby, the day we met, was a makeshift café, with nearly a dozen Iraqis chain-smoking cigarettes and sipping stale Microtel coffee from white styrofoam cups. Several were dressed in traditional garb—flowing robes, sandals, and a wide assortment of headdress, from the skullcaps popular with American Nation-of-Islam Muslims to the kaffiyeh favored by Yasser Arafat. Others were dressed in Western clothes. One man was wearing khakis and a white sweater bearing the blue-and-gold emblem of the University of Michigan. Of all those present, he was the only one who looked like he might have stayed in a Microtel before.

Their anticipation of the coming adventure was apparent. None of them had any idea where they were going or when they would leave. They knew only that they would be involved in some way in the liberation. The current rumor was that they would work with British forces once bombs started dropping, translating from English into Arabic and back again. There were several young men, perhaps in their twenties, and others who could have been septuagenarians. All of them, even the old men, had been hoping for something more, possibly a combat role. But they were willing to help in any way they could.

Two of the Iraqis—former Republican Guard general Riadh Abdullah and his friend Lt. Col. Munem al Saedy—invited me to their room for a chat away from the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rest of the delegation. They were out of place in this group, they told me, because of their vast military experience. The men listed their bona fides, and it was hard to disagree. They wanted to know if I had heard anything more about potential work with the Defense Department. I hadn't, but promised I would check.

Both men had signed up to work with the Pentagon, but had heard nothing. Defense Department sources say that processing these applications has taken time—in part because of the need for careful vetting of volunteers. The Iraqi officers jumped on the al-Khoei Foundation trip as their ticket to the region.

"I must go to Iraq," said al Saedy. "This is my good dream."

After our meeting, the group was taken to New York for several days, and then returned to the Microtel a week before the bombing began. They were scheduled to leave for Kuwait City on the evening of Tuesday, March 18, but the flight that brought me to Kuwait the day before that was the last British Airways flight in, and most other carriers cut back their schedules severely. No doubt many Iraqis who signed up for these programs are now glued to their television sets, frustrated to have been left behind.

Although scores of Iraqi Americans seem to have been shut out of pursuing their "good dreams," others are working with American forces inside Iraq. Hakim, the engineer from California, is part of a group the Pentagon is calling the Free Iraqi Forces. They were trained at an air base in Taszar, Hungary. Military officials here won't reveal exactly how many Iraqis are working with U.S. troops, but the total is probably no more than 300. That modest count is not for lack of volunteers. Over the past several months, the Bush administration has fielded thousands of inquiries from Iraqis eager to enlist—many from the United States and others from around the world.

Those lucky enough to make it to Hungary trained hard, though their exercises were much less rigorous than ordinary military boot camp. The training came in two phases—two weeks of basic skills and two weeks of civil-military operations. In the first section, the instruction focused on things like self-defense, map-reading, and military customs, as well as first aid and chemical/biological weapons protection. In the final two weeks, the Free Iraqi Forces' boot camp concentrated on refugee resettlement and working with relief agencies. Several participants wept at the graduation ceremony.

Here are some thoughts expressed by two members of the Free Iraqi Forces, recorded on the day they graduated from training in Hungary.

Hamdy is an engineer and small business owner from Missouri.

U.S. government interviewer: *You're giving up a lot to put your business on hold, your family life on hold, to go to Iraq to help democratize the country. Are you as dedicated right now on your graduation day as you were when you first came here?*

Hamdy: *I was obligated for that, the day I joined the uprising on February 2, 1991, when I give away all of my privilege, when I was living a very comfortable life in my country, when I joined the people—I joined the uprising against the regime trying to overthrow Saddam from power and gain our freedom and democracy in Iraq. I consider this a continuation for the mission we started in 1991. I am ready to do it, now more better.*

Interviewer: *You must have been excited when you heard about this opportunity. How did you present this to your family?*

Hamdy: *(Deep breath) Actually, my name comes up three or four days after my colleagues in the city I live in in Missouri. And I was very upset because my name was not on the list to join this mission after three or four days. [Then] I receive a phone call from my friends, part of the politicians in Washington, D.C., telling me about this duty, and my wife just saw me jumping and laughing and dancing that my name was on the list. And my wife was dancing more than me because she want me to go (he says smiling big). As well, she was angry that her name was not on, because she wanted to join this mission as well. As we have three children and we cannot leave them and either she or me has to join these forces, so we decided that I would go for this mission and she stay until we liberate Iraq and I will move them all.*

Interviewer: *So tell me about the training. Was it a surprise to you or was it what you expected?*

Hamdy: *It's a little above my expectation. I mean, I felt that civilized nations cared about their people and their countries and their nations only. But I see an American army and all these units and working for U.S. to go for the civil military operation and all of our training is for the duty of taking care of civilians in Iraq. And that was a little above my expectation. But there is nations that care about other nations' civilians more than their own government, like Saddam's government who kill a lot, like their own civilians, use chemical weapons and mass destruction weapon against our people, in 1988 and 1991, after the uprising as well.*

David is a middle-aged construction contractor.

U.S. government interviewer: *You've finished one month of training—you've probably left a very comfortable life back home. Tell me something about the life you left before you came here.*

David: *Well, I live in the United States since 1984, happily married, got five children—all of them born in the United States. I work all kind of jobs. For the last ten years, I work in construc-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Getty / Chris Hondros

Maj. David "Bull" Gurfein in the southern Iraqi city of Safwan

tion and right now I'm construction contractor.

Interviewer: *How did you tell your family, especially to your five children, that Daddy is going away for a long time?*

David: *Well, it's not first time. In 1991 when Iraq invaded Kuwait, nobody willing to take me that time. And this time, what I know they said, the United States military was ready. And I went ahead on the phone and called the State Department, the Pentagon, everybody I can find on the Internet. Finally, somebody gave me informations that I got to get ahold of the Iraqi opposition, so I contact all the Iraqi opposition to—I put my name on every list was available.*

Interviewer: *How soon after you applied did you hear that you were chosen?*

David: *Approximately two weeks, a very torture two weeks I was waiting.*

Interviewer: *And from the time you were accepted to the time you left home, how long was it?*

David: *Less than 24 hours.*

Interviewer: *How did you tell your family—what did you tell your family?*

David: *Well, actually before I volunteered I set me and my wife, and we discussed it and she knows it's a noble job. And when my country called me, I'm also your citizen, and when my chief and commander want me to serve I am happy to do it and willing to do it as long as it takes.*

Interviewer: *Have you had any prior military experience?*

David: *No I don't have no military experience.*

Interviewer: *Tell me about the training—was it what you expected?*

David: *Well, I am overwhelmed, I am overwhelmed by these beautiful young men and womens who left their loved ones in the United States and they came here to train me, I feel so small (hand gesture for smallness) compared to what they're doing.*

Interviewer: *Tell me about the training.*

David: *Well first we had training in self-defense, then we had training with civil military operations, and then we graduated today.*

Interviewer: *What do you think you might accomplish?*

David: *I hope to do my job as my country want me to do. To serve the people.*

Interviewer: *If Saddam Hussein is uprooted in Iraq, will you return or stay in your country to help democratize?*

David: *This is very hard question. I got two lives: I got life in United States and I got previous life, . . . but as long as my country needs me I will wear this (grabs uniform). But if they don't need me no more, we shall see.*

Interviewer: *Do you have a family in Iraq now?*

David: *Yes, my family is still in Iraq.*

Interviewer: *Are you in communication with them?*

David: *Yes (pause), last communication was approximately a year ago.*

Interviewer: *Do you have any idea what life is like in Iraq today?*

David: *It's a hell. It's very, very tough. It's very hard life. Imagine—you cannot go out the way you want. You cannot work. You cannot talk. You can do nothing. It is police state, it is hard.*

Interviewer: *You probably are aware of the demonstrations being held around the world. A lot of them were happening before you came here, and probably in the month that you were here more have popped up around the world. What would you say to these demonstrators who are pretty much living in free and democratic countries and here they have a great deal to say about the U.N. and the United States coming into Iraq?*

David: *Well, I would tell them I'm proud of you. That's what democracy is all about. That's what freedom is all about. Free, you can talk, you can do anything you want to do. But the people of Iraq cannot do it. Where you been when Saddam Hussein killed 100,000 Kurds? Where you been when he killed a million Iraqi soldiers and Iraqis and Iranis? Where you been when he occupied Kuwait and he killed over a thousand Kuwaitis? Why nobody says nothing?*

Interviewer: *If Saddam Hussein were in front of you instead of me what would you say to him?*

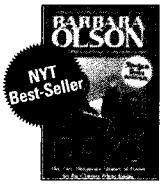
David: *(Laughs) I would tell him, "What comes around goes around. Now, your time to go. Your time is up. Now, we're twenty-first century. No room for dictators."* ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guaranteed CONDEMNED

Slander—Prominent liberals—desperate to gain even more political power in America—pull no punches in their effort to defame and discredit conservatives. And their pals in the media are forever letting them get away with it. But finally Ann Coulter stands up to call their bluff.
Item #5985

Retail $25.95



Final Days—"Disgraceful." That was former president Jimmy Carter's word for the final days of the Clinton administration. But as the late Barbara Olson shows in this riveting book, it was worse than disgraceful; it was well-nigh criminal.
Item #5864

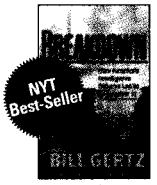
Retail $27.95

When Character Was King—At last: a real insider's look at Ronald Reagan—that fully reveals why he's one of the greatest men of our time. Refreshingly free of the made-up characters and sneering liberal bias that mar other portraits of Reagan, Peggy Noonan at last brings you a well-rounded picture of this modern hero.
Item #5912

Retail $24.95

Write Tight—At a time when writing instruction allows self-indulgence, this classic writing reference comes none too soon. In *Write Tight,* William Brohaugh, the former editor of *Writer's Digest,* teaches you how to say *exactly* what you mean with grace and power — using not only the right word, but also the right *number* of words. **Item #6017**

Retail $14.95

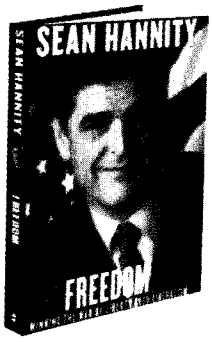


Breakdown—Ace reporter Bill Gertz reveals how, since the 1970s, liberals have ravaged the CIA and FBI until both have degenerated into "welfare bureaucracies," saturated with the doctrine of appeasement and incapable of effective clandestine operations. **Item #6007**

Retail $27.95

Militant Islam Reaches America—Daniel Pipes isn't afraid to say what most "experts" would rather you didn't know: in this explosive new book he presents compelling, disquieting evidence that extremist Muslims are bent on nothing less than the destruction of the United States and the eradication of Western culture. Even worse, he shows how the U.S. Government, rather than mobilizing against this threat, has become Islam's biggest patron. **Item #6116**

Retail $25.95

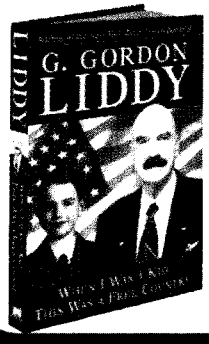


Let Freedom Ring

New York Times Best-Seller

Known for his forthright, courageous style, Hannity pulls no punches declaring that if the Left prevails, the well-being of future generations will be in peril. In his book, Sean shows why liberalism is bankrupt on a variety of issues: terrorism and national security, border security, the economy, taxes, liberal media bias, environmentalism, education, faith, character and the family, and more.

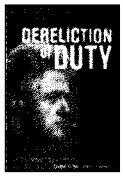
Item #6024 Retail $25.95



When I Was a Kid, This Was a Free Country

So much has changed since G. Gordon Liddy was a kid—and not for the better. In the latest book from the smash-hit radio host, *When I Was a Kid, This Was a Free Country,* he surveys the damage: restrictive gun control laws, bewilderingly complicated and limiting environmental regulations, politically correct strangleholds on free speech and free thought, and even encroachments on our property rights and due process of law.

Item #6070 Retail $27.95



Dereliction of Duty—From the officer entrusted with our nation's nuclear codes: proof that Bill Clinton cared little for national security and put every American in mortal danger. Colonel Robert Patterson tells the whole story—the President's contempt for the military, his indifference to important issues, and his reduction of the Office of the Presidency to a playground for his own ambition and thirst for sordid perks. **Item #6153**

Retail $27.95

Getting It Right—A rollicking — and revealing — novel about the early days of the conservative movement. In his latest novel, William F. Buckley delivers a riveting story that is also an original contribution to the history of the conservative movement. **Item #6138**

Retail $27.95

The Right Man—Revealed by a White House insider: contrary to liberal caricature, George W. Bush is firmly in control of his Administration - and he's a "superb wartime leader." David Frum offers here a unique insider's glimpse into the Bush White House, taking you into the internal meetings that helped shape Administration policy on tax cuts, Taiwan, the environment, stem cell research, and more - particularly the September 11 terrorist attacks that transformed Bush's presidency. **Item #6130**

Retail $25.95

Death of the West—American policies have turned white Americans into second-class citizens. And, if we don't pay attention, Buchanan proves the worst is yet to come. This NYT Best-Seller, shows how the U.S. could become a Third-World nation by 2050, unless we take action now. **Item #5909**

Retail $25.95

The Sword of the Prophet —What Muslims, multiculturalists, and the media *hope you never find out* about Islam. Serge Trifkovic, foreign affairs editor of *Chronicles* magazine, gives us the unvarnished, "politically incorrect" truth about Islam — including shocking facts about its founder, Mohammed; its persecutions of Christians, Jews, Hindus and other "infidels"; its irreformable commitment to global conquest and what we must do if we wish to survive.
Item #6077

Retail $19.95

What's So Great About America—America is under attack not only from terrorists, but from leftists, Europeans, and militant Islamic intellectuals who all blame America for every ill in the world. In *What's So Great About America,* best selling author Dinesh D'Souza takes on all of America's critics and proves them wrong. **Item #5960**

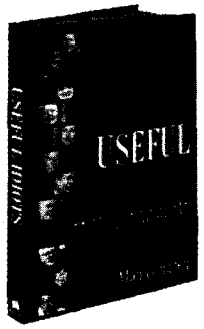
Retail $27.95

Since 1964, the Conservative Book Club has delivered the truth!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guaranteed RIGHT

Take 3 Books for $1 Each



Useful Idiots

New York Times Best-Seller

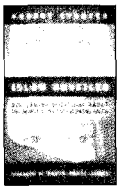
Who won the Cold War? Many liberals are now attempting to rewrite history by claiming that they were no less opposed to Communism than conservatives – and even more instrumental in defeating it. But in *Useful Idiots*, conservative commentator Mona Charen unveils the lie – and shows how countless liberals in politics, the media and academia served as unwitting dupes, or willing defenders, of murderous Communist regimes.

Item #6143 Retail $27.95

Fighting Back

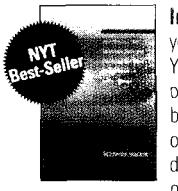
What did President Bush do on September 11th when he discovered that America was under terrorist attack? How did he plan the war on terror? What is his strategy? *Fighting Back* is the ultimate insider account of the Bush presidency during this unprecedented period.

Item #6076 Retail $27.95



Islam Unveiled—Here at last is a book that dares to tell the truth about Islam—and to show you exactly why this religion is so easy to "hijack," and what Islamic authorities really teach about such barbarities! **Item #6008**

Retail $24.95

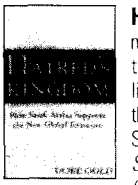


Invasion—Give us your tired, your poor... your terrorists, torturers and criminal scum? You will not read a more shocking account of just how porous America's borders have become than this book. *Invasion* is based on exhaustive research and interviews with dozens of current and former immigration officials. **Item #6063**

Retail $27.95

Savage Nation—From talk-radio's fastest-rising star: bold, biting, and hilarious straight talk about how liberalism is wrecking America. *"A man with the courage to say what millions of conservative Americans have been thinking but are afraid to say out loud" — Christopher Ruddy, NewsMax* **Item #6151**

Retail $24.99



Hatred's Kingdom—The Saudi government postures and preens about its opposition to terrorism, but there's much more linking them to terrorism than just the fact that the September 11 terrorists were mostly Saudis. That evidence is in *Hatred's Kingdom: Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism, and the Rise of Global Terrorism*, a shocking new exposé by Israel's former ambassador to the United Nations, Dore Gold. **Item #6142**

Retail $27.95

TAKE 3 BOOKS FOR $1 EACH

PLUS A 4TH FOR $7.95

100% Satisfaction Guaranteed

INSTANT SAVINGS! Join today and get any 3 of the books pictured in this ad for just $3 plus shipping and handling. Then take up to two years to buy four more books at regular low Club prices (20–50% below retail) or three books over two years, if you've selected the New Member Bonus. After you have paid for your books, your Membership can be ended by you or the Club. Plus you will also get opportunities to buy from our list of Superbargain books that the Club regularly offers. These books are offered at 70–90% discounts!! (Sorry, Superbargain books don't count toward your book commitment.)

SHOP AT HOME CONVENIENCE! Up to 15 times a year you will receive the Club Bulletin packed with the kind of books you will want to read and own. Each bulletin will describe a Featured Selection chosen just for our members. If you want to receive the Featured Selection, do nothing and it will be sent to you. If you don't want the Featured Selection or you would like an alternate selection, simply indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it before the deadline date. CBC is an easy way to build your conservative library from the comfort of your own home.

CBC ONLINE! You can now read about and conveniently order CBC books from our new website. Same discounts apply, of course. And, with regularly scheduled live chats with our authors and members-only bulletin boards, you can keep up with the conservative community on a range of important issues.

100% SATISFACTION GUARANTEED! If you are not completely satisfied with any book, return it and receive a complete credit. Plus you will always have at least ten days to make your decision to receive the Featured Selection. If you ever have less than ten days, you simply return the book at Club expense for a full credit. One Membership per household please.

Join online at www.ConservativeBookClub.com

☑ **YES!** Please enroll me as a **Preferred Member of the Conservative Book Club** under the terms outlined in this ad. Send me the 3 books I've indicated and bill me just $3, plus shipping and handling. I then need to buy only four additional books at regularly discounted club prices over the next two years. *Please write book numbers here:*

_____ # _____ # _____ C1103AX

☐ **YES! I want to take advantage of the New Member Bonus!** Please send me a 4th selection as I've indicated below. I understand I will be billed an additional $7.95, plus shipping and handling. I then need to buy only three additional books at regular club prices over the next two years. *Please write book number here:*

_____ C1103AY

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Email _____

• Prices slightly higher in Canada • Membership subject to approval by the Conservative Book Club

www.ConservativeBookClub.com

Fill out this coupon and mail to: **CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB®**

1146 PO BOX 97196, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20090-7196

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All Suited Up and Nowhere to Go

The joys of Kuwait City in wartime

By Matt Labash

Kuwait City

Monday, March 17—Despite the steady hand and nerves of steel I am exhibiting while filing this dispatch from a British Airways cabin, there is nothing easy about shipping off to a war zone. There are the tearful goodbyes, the intimations of doom, the begging and pleading not to go. Or there were, until my managing editor gave me a smack, and told me to pull myself together.

Now, as we have reached a cruising altitude of 37,000 feet, somewhere between London and Kuwait City, on what we're told is the last flight in before they stop running civilian routes in anticipation of war, a strange peace has set in. Not because I have signed on for what could be a memorable adventure. Nor because I have the chance to possibly document the brave feats of our men and women in uniform, to take a ringside seat for the ultimate spectacle, to witness man in all his glory and depravity. No, the reason I am happy to be headed for a country that the State Department has advised the rest of the world to steer clear of is that I have soaked the company for so much gear that I want to be long gone when my expense reports are filed.

As I write this, I am wearing enough pockets to hold the entire 3rd Infantry Division's gum and car keys for the war's duration. It's the full war correspondent's rig: lots of extraneous pouches, zippers, and mesh—everything but the Peter Arnett rake-over. With my colleague Steve Hayes, I've been outfitted with fleeces and Gore-tex, tight thermal shirts and dry-wick underwear—in case we get close to a firefight and wet ourselves. We bought canteens with nuclear/bio/chemical nozzles, in case we get thirsty in the middle of a sarin attack. We bought chem suits and back-up chem suits—JSList military-style, Tyvek (which resembles a lawn tarp)—and see-through plastic suits, which make you look as if you've been stuffed into a giant Ziploc sandwich bag. We have red-light flashlights, glow sticks, and headlamps. We bought Leatherman multi-tools (in case we need to open a bottle of wine or cut the tags off our new clothes). We have a shortwave radio, a solar battery charger, and alligator clip/jumper cables, in case our laptops run out of juice and a Marine is kind enough to let us charge up off his Humvee battery. We have body armor and Kevlar vests. We have helmets with desert camo covers that make us look like Middle Eastern versions of Michael Dukakis.

Then there are the bags. We have small bags and big bags: bike messenger pouches, huge backpacks, three-day assault packs, and rolling duffles the size of small coffins. To be honest, it all might be a bit excessive, considering our base of operations is going to be a Hilton Resort on the Persian Gulf. That too, is largely my editors' fault. One of us could have accepted a permanent embedding assignment with the Army's 1st Cavalry Division. The 1st Cav was Robert Duvall's unit in *Apocalypse Now*—though in this conflict, they are late-deployers who will likely be used for postwar stabilization. But our bosses argued that everybody was embedding—we'd be better off doing a variety of stories by staying unattached and remaining mobile.

Remaining mobile? I have so many bags, I need a coolie just to help me get off the Heathrow shuttle. No worries, however. I will fully embrace the 1st Cav's fighting spirit just as soon as I check into my hotel room and get ahold of the room service menu.

I love the smell of bacon in the morning.

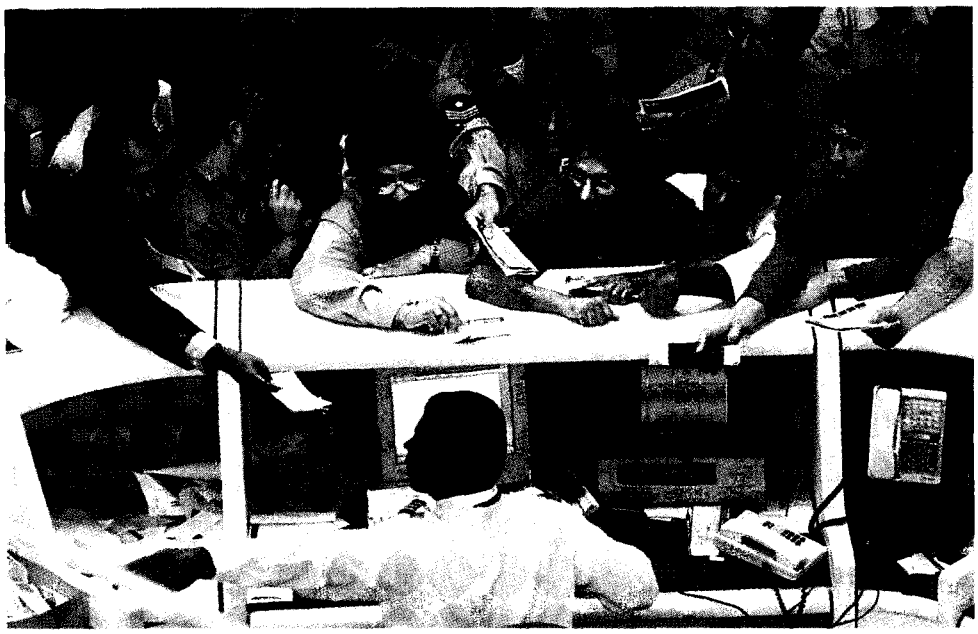
Tuesday, March 18—Flying into Kuwait City, one gets the impression one might be headed the wrong way. The airport aisles are choked with people in a hurry to go somewhere else. The customs officials don't seem quite as pressed to in-process newcomers, who they reason will be here for awhile, on account of most airlines' canceling flights. Even our British Airways crew is intent on making scarce. After depositing us around

Matt Labash is a senior writer at The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

11 P.M., they told us they were taking an empty plane on a midnight run back to London, so as not to have to spend a night in Kuwait City.

Kuwait is a country of first-world amenities and third-world efficiency. The airport retailers offer *George of the Jungle* DVDs, and cosmetics by Christian Dior and Estée Lauder. The loudspeakers blast a panflute Muzak-y version of "Say You, Say Me." A sign for the restroom says "Gents toilet"—as if a relic from Kuwait's days as a British protectorate. (Brits are thick on the ground here, walking around with the proprietary vim they often exhibit when visiting a former colony that they believe has gone to seed.) As if fresh arrivals are not gambling enough by their very presence, they are encouraged to experience the "Power of Instant Winning" in Kuwait's scratch-off lotto game. All of this is set off by immigration officials in mismatching uniforms and billowy pants, who seem to misplace our passports for hours at a time, and who are hellbent on delivering us through customs well after our rental car agents have called it a night.



AFP / Tim Sloan

A crowded departure counter at Kuwait International Airport, March 21

As a colleague and I itch to make it to the Thrifty desk before they run out of Mitsubishi Pajeros (the four-wheel-drive vehicle of choice for those planning on making a run to the border, in what journalists are already calling "the 51st state"), we watch an anorexic cat cross the baggage return terminal. He saunters up, hops onto the conveyor belt, and disappears through the rubber fringe, beneath a sign that warns, "Please don't sit or stand on the conveyor."

The closest thing to command and journalism central in Kuwait City is the Hilton Resort, a five-star abode that abuts the Persian Gulf, and an ideal Americanized refuge in what a *U.S. News* colleague has dubbed "McArabia." The Hilton boasts a Starbucks and a Pizza Express. At its various high-end retail emporiums, you can buy boutique items like gourmet kitchen knives, tweezers with an attached magnifying glass, and honeysuckle foaming bath gel with myrrh extract—a necessity for any war.

But to make it a true Saigon-worthy war correspondent's hangout, it is lacking one vital element: booze. Kuwait is a dry country, and consequently, many suggest that after we liberate Iraq, instead of marching on to Iran or North Korea, we might want to turn our attention back to Kuwait. There are ways around prohibition, of course. One newsweekly correspondent suggested sneaking in your amber spirits of choice in a Listerine bottle, and your clear spirits in an Aquafina bottle. Due to host nation sensitivities, I'm not saying whether I followed his counsel. Suffice it to say, the cleaning ladies look askance when I finish the day with a nice tall glass of Listerine Antiseptic. Such is your lot, I tell them, when you have a really bad case of gingivitis.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19—Not to belabor the point, but among journalists, the booze quandary comes up in every fourth conversation. An Air Force captain tells me he sees the mandatory teetotaling as a "fitness opportunity. " When I ask him if there's any bathtub gin operation, as has been rumored, he says, "Ask the Brits, they always seem to know about these things."

Later, in the business center, which boasts high-speed DSL connections even though you are only able to place international calls on every fifth attempt, I do just that. A British journalist tells me a robust black market existed for weeks, but recently, "it seems to have gone to ground." The best contact, he says, has likely gone to prison. Until then, Scotch, he says, was going for about 150 bucks a bottle. Consequently, he adds, "I haven't had a drink since Friday." That was five days ago, so this is no laughing matter in British newsgathering circles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While nearly 700 journalists have embedded with troops, an additional 1,500 or so have elected to stay "unilateral," as it is designated in bold red print on our press passes. There are many reasons for such a decision—self-preservation, cowardice—but one of the most oft-cited excuses for remaining solo is that when you embed, you are totally dependent, journalistically, on the same subject. You are a slave to the disposition of the troops you are stuck with, or as the troops would likely put it, who are stuck with you.

You might get embedded with a unit of high-speed, hooah ground-pounders, or you could be in store for a lot of quotes along the lines of, "We've received the best training and have the best equipment"—the military equivalent of the professional athlete's "We just need to focus" post-game locker room interview. For a while, the American and British public affairs officers were running one and two-day stingers out to the field, where you could have the best of both worlds: documenting the military experience, and then coming back to the hotel after a few days to enjoy their world-class mocktails (my favorite: "The Tenderberry: A subtle blend of strawberries, grenadine, double cream, crushed ice, ginger ale and ground ginger").

But the press office has suspended this practice, in anticipation of troop movement and war. They shut down the whole northern third of Kuwait, meaning that if a unilateral wants to jump the border on the off chance he can circumnavigate U.S. and Kuwaiti checkpoints by driving off-road in possible minefields, he risks becoming a victim of friendly fire as much as getting finished off by Iraqi guns. Which is why many of us have decided to watch the war kick off like the rest of America: by watching CNN.

Much of our day, consequently, unfolds in working out logistics. To get both a Kuwaiti press pass and a U.S. press pass, one must provide a host of documentation: from visas to passports to a letter of introduction from your boss, to a mug shot. I came equipped with nearly all of these, though my mug shot seems to have disappeared when the airport immigration officials possibly lost it under a stack of paper. I am told I must find a local place that takes passport photos.

I set off for "Kuwait Magic"—a nearby strip mall that is indeed magical, coming complete with faux mosaic tile, faux rocks, and all manner of cartoon Arabian decor that stops just short of an animated grinning genie. Walking through the mall, looking for a photo kiosk, I get a full blast of Kuwaiti culture. There is the authentic local cuisine (Toblerone chocolate and barbecue Pringles) and recreation (a video arcade, where Kuwaiti children play "House of the Dead 2"). I finally find a photo booth at "Sketch Express," where a trio of giggly Kuwaiti girls take my picture, frowning when I offer dollars in place of Kuwaiti dinars, and then refusing payment. It's just as well. Instead of a regulation-size passport photo, they snap an 8x10 printout that makes me look like a cross between one of the dimmer Gotti brothers and a Serbian war criminal. Desperate to obtain a regulation-size photo, I go to the McDonald's upstairs, where all the employees have passport-size photos on their nametags. I ask them if they have a staff photographer. They don't. But they offer me a McArabia meal—a grilled chicken sandwich on Arabic flatbread—no small consolation. My Sketch Express snap will have to do.

As I make my way back to the Hilton, I am stopped by security after navigating a series of speed bumps, sand moguls, and elevated metal plates. A suicide bomber might still have a go at our hotel, but if so, its going to be hell on his suspension. Additionally, Kuwaiti Army security makes drivers exit their vehicles and step into a trailer, where both we and our bags go through a metal detector. Standing in line, I ask the gentleman in front of me if he too is a journalist. He looks hurt. "Do I look like a journalist?" he says. It's a fair point—he's not wearing cargo shorts and dark socks, as is local media custom.

Shortly after exiting the metal detector, I encounter Abdullah, a security specialist. I read in a guidebook that Kuwaitis have a good sense of humor, and Abdullah is no exception. "Hello, Bush," he greets me, pronouncing "Bush" as "Boooosh." I play along, adopting a Crawford, Texas, accent and asking him if he is part of the coalition of the willing. He doesn't seem to get it. He just repeats "Ronald Boooooosh," confusing U.S. presidents. Americans—apparently, we all look the same.

THURSDAY, MARCH 20—The United States fires nearly 40 Tomahawk missiles at Baghdad shortly after 4 A.M. On CNN, an embedded reporter brings us the latest from his host unit: They've received the best training, and have the best equipment. We feel pretty ineffectual, watching it on television like commoners, so I make busywork by hopping on a Radio Shack shortwave radio, hoping to catch American broadcasts to the Iraqis, warning them of impending destruction. All I get, however, is Muslim calls to prayer and the warbling of Céline Dion, the latter of which could be a diabolical trick sponsored by the U.S. military's psy-ops experts. Cruise missiles or Céline Dion—it's hard to say which is more deadly.

I rush over to the press center in the hotel and am shocked and awed to find nobody present. The public affairs officers are dedicated soldiers all, but, lest we for-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Times / Richard Pohle

Reporters watch TV in the basement of a Kuwait hotel.

get, they are also government employees. This is war—but there's no need to start work before 8 A.M. The only soul I encounter in the lobby outside the press center is a Japanese reporter for the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper. He is crashed on an overstuffed couch, nonchalantly smoking a Marlboro Medium, and he says that the only people he has seen since war kicked off are the janitors and night watchmen. He has been in Kuwait for a week, and I ask him what is the most interesting thing that has happened thus far.

"Nothing," he says, helpfully. "I'm just trying to find a way to get to Iraq. Most of the journalists here are like me—the really good ones are already there. Like Christiane Amanpour." She's in Kuwait City, I correct him. "But she'll probably be in Iraq after the Americans conquer it," he says, defeated. "If she goes to Japan, I'm sure I can beat her out, but in an away game like this. . . . If North Korea fires off a nuke, maybe I'll win." "Maybe," I second, impressed both by his competitive spirit and his conviction that the obliteration of mankind makes for an excellent career opportunity. I ask him where he's from in Japan. "Hiroshima," he says.

It's not my place to question our military strategy, but the "shock and awe" campaign turns out, in its initial stages, to feel more like a cough and spit, so both Hayes and I retire for mid-morning naps. We are awakened by a siren that sounds like a fire engine trucking through our sitting room. It is intended to warn us of possible incoming Scuds from Iraq. We both scramble to find our gas masks and chem suits. There is a military saying that states "mask in nine," meaning you are supposed to be wearing your gas mask within nine seconds of becoming aware of a threat. But considering our place is decorated/littered in the bachelor-pad baroque style—our gas masks and chem suits have to be dug out from under several layers of scattered clothes and discarded food containers. Mask in 3:09 was closer to the truth, as we bump around like silent movie comedians, trying to shake off our dead sleeps while remembering how to properly suit up. As I slip on my mask, I motion for Hayes to tighten it. He does so, and pulls one of the straps clean off (an MSA Millennium brand gas mask—in a deserved piece of free publicity). It turns out to be a needless alarm, one of nine over the next two days, though at least four Scuds do end up getting fired into Kuwait.

After we receive the all-clear signal, I make my way over to the hotel, and find that the Starbucks has closed early. Sure, Saddam has gassed the Kurds, invaded Kuwait, and flouted U.N. resolutions, but closing Starbucks? Now, he must pay. There is as much anger as there is fright in the halls of the Hilton Resorts, but fright wins the day when another alarm sounds, and all of us make for a sweltering basement shelter. Taking my place in one of the white plastic lawn chairs that have been set out for such occasions, I fall into conversation with a Kuwaiti International Media press official, Sarah Al-Deyyain, for whom this is old home week. She was around during the Iraqi invasion of 1990. Her brother, after failing to produce the proper identification, was taken into custody and beaten bloody by Iraqi officials before being released. Others didn't fare so well. Another good friend of hers had a relative who was snatched by Saddam's forces. "Their son was in Iraqi custody," she says, "then his family got a call that he was being released. The Iraqis brought him back home, and as his family received him, hugging him in the doorway, the Iraqis pulled him aside and shot him in the head—right in front of his family."

Alcohol restrictions aside, stories such as this—in no short supply—are the most sobering reminders of the stakes in this conflict. That, and the phone call I received after the first Scud alarm sounded. A hotel employee rang for a previously requested wake-up call. "Mister Matt," she said, "Are you sleeping? Or are you getting ready for war?" ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Road Map to Nowhere

Do we really need another doomed Mideast peace process?

BY JOSHUA MURAVCHIK

Three days before abandoning diplomatic activity about Iraq in the U.N. Security Council and delivering an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein, President Bush hastily invited reporters to the White House Rose Garden, where he announced a further initiative for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The president said that immediately upon the confirmation of a Palestinian prime minister, his government would formally present to the two sides the "road map" for peace that it had "developed . . . in close cooperation" with Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations—the other members of the so-called "quartet" that the administration has chosen as its new vehicle for Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy.

The announcement, which news reports said had originally been planned to follow the resolution of the Iraq issue, apparently was moved forward in order to give succor to those, especially British prime minister Tony Blair, who had gone out on a limb to support American policy toward Iraq. "Mr. Blair and others have demanded publication of the peace plan to quell the anger throughout the Arab world over the Bush administration's perceived focus on Iraq to the exclusion of the creation of a Palestinian state, the cause the Arabs consider paramount," explained the *New York Times*. In careful coordination, Blair followed Bush's announcement with a press statement of his own in which he declared, "The most important thing we can do is show even-handedness towards the Middle East." This formula, which Blair repeated more than once, apparently meant giving the Israeli-Palestinian question as much attention as Iraq. It may also have been intended to imply an approach of neutrality between the Israelis and the Palestinians, in contrast to the pro-Israel stance that the Arabs say Washington has usually taken.

Although the timing of the announcement seemed to have been improvised, it had long been expected that an Iraq war would be linked in some way to renewed activity on the Israeli-Palestinian front. President Bush had said in his February 26 speech to the American Enterprise Institute that "success in Iraq could also begin a new stage for Middle Eastern peace and set in motion progress toward a truly democratic Palestinian state." From a rather different perspective, Arab and European commentators have claimed that after taking down Saddam, the United States would have to compensate the Muslim world for this intrusion by assuring progress toward Palestinian independence.

That is the destination to which the road map is supposed to lead. But what is in this road map? What are its underlying premises? And will it get us to peace?

Three early drafts of the road map have made their way into the public prints, and administration spokesmen say that the final draft will vary little from the last of these, circulated in December. To reach the president's declared objective of the birth of a Palestinian state within three years, the map lays out detailed sets of reciprocal obligations grouped into three phases. In the first phase, to be accomplished within a few months, the Palestinians would "undertake an unconditional cessation of violence" (to quote from the December draft) as well as "comprehensive political reform . . . including drafting a Palestinian constitution and free, fair and open elections." The Palestinians would also resume security cooperation with Israel. For its part, Israel would withdraw from all Palestinian areas it entered since the start of the intifada, freeze all settlement activity, dismantling the "settlement outposts" erected since Ariel Sharon came to office, and "take . . . all necessary steps to help normalize Palestinian life."

In the second phase, to last six months, "efforts are

Joshua Muravchik, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of Heaven on Earth: The Rise and Fall of Socialism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

focused on . . . creating an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders and attributes of sovereignty . . . as a way station to a permanent status settlement." This would be blessed by an international conference convened by the quartet. And it would be accompanied by steps by the Arab states to "restore pre-intifada links to Israel." During this time, the quartet would "promote international recognition of [the] Palestinian state, including possible U.N. membership." In the third phase, lasting two years and featuring still another international conference convened by the quartet, a "final and comprehensive settlement" would be "negotiated between the parties . . . that ends the occupation that began in 1967" and "fulfills the vision of two states, Israel and the sovereign, independent, democratic and viable Palestine, living side-by-side in peace and security." This would be accompanied by "a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace."

Two critical premises lie behind this plan. The first is that the shape of an ultimate settlement is clear. It will look like the terms discussed at Taba, Egypt, in January 2001, the last-ditch negotiation undertaken during the waning days of Bill Clinton's presidency and Ehud Barak's tenure as Israel's prime minister. In this view, what is lacking is a choreography to get us to a final act the outcome of which is already known. The second premise is that this choreography requires an intermediary more balanced than the United States, whose seven-year mediation efforts under the Oslo accords were crowned with failure at Camp David in the summer of 2000. Hence, the primary role now assigned to the quartet, which is less reflexively pro-Israel than America.

The first thing one might say about the plan itself is that its pace is breathless. Comprehensive political reform, a new constitution, free elections—all within the first few months? Never mind that this seems unrealistic. (We are now 19 years past the deadline for Palestinian self-rule set in the Egypt-Israel peace agreement of 1979 and four years past the date for completing "final status" talks under the Oslo accords.) It is even undemocratic. Aren't the citizens of Palestine entitled to a little time to acquaint themselves with their new political system, not to mention to assent to it, to discover what the offices are for which they will vote, to form political parties, to debate the issues? From there, we press on frantically to sovereignty within a few more months and a complete laying to rest of the Arab-Israeli conflict by 2005. *Inshallah*. There is no disgrace in a rush to peace, provided one's hurry does not result in losing one's way.

There is, however, an important problem here. Postmortems of Oslo, notably by the chief U.S. negotiator, Dennis Ross, have focused on America's failure to insist on full compliance with the terms of the agreement, especially on the part of the Palestinians, a failure that was driven by the pressure to meet predetermined timetables. Precisely to avoid repetition of this mistake, the Bush administration has characterized the road map as "performance driven." But that is scarcely compatible with a breakneck dash around the map's multiple clover leaves.

The most penetrating analysis of this dizzying racecourse has been offered by Robert Satloff of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Satloff faults the plan's "sham, even indecent, parallelism between Palestinian and Israeli behavior." Not only does it call on each side, in virtually identical language, to "cease violence" against the other, as if acts of terror and counterterror are commensurable. It also balances a demand that "official Palestinian institutions end incitement against Israel" with one that "official Israeli institutions end incitement against Palestinians."

The issue of incitement is not about "mere words." It goes to the heart of prospects for peace. In trading land for peace, Israel wants to be sure it is getting what is promised, namely a Palestinian neighbor committed to respecting its existence. Nothing did more to sabotage Oslo than Arafat's ambiguity on this score, his own continued references to "jihad," and the hatred, denigration, and delegitimation of Israel that permeated the Palestinian Authority's state-controlled news media, textbooks, maps, and what-have-you. Nothing comparable ever issued from the Israeli government. The road map's designers apparently feared it would be insulting to the Palestinians to allude to their incitement without saying something equivalent toward Israel, however baseless. But to treat the issue of incitement in such a cavalier fashion bodes ill for the process.

Satloff also points out that there is something dangerously naive in the road map's assumption that the situation prior to the outbreak of violence can or should be readily restored. In fact, he points out,

> the status quo ante was itself deeply flawed, i.e., the infrastructure for illegal smuggling and manufacture of weaponry was well established; the commingling of terrorist organizations and Palestinian security forces was deeply entrenched; and the preparations for armed uprising were well advanced, as evidenced by the testimony of senior Palestinian officials. Rolling back the clock without addressing the organic problems at the heart of Oslo . . . is a surefire way to guarantee that the road map will share Oslo's fate.

One particularly notable aspect of the status quo ante was the primacy of Yasser Arafat. President Bush's landmark speech of June 24, 2002, called for "a new and different Palestinian leadership . . . not compromised by terror." But Blair, in his orchestrated echo of Bush's March 14 road

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

map statement, also announced that he himself had just called Arafat to discuss the plan. Linking the official presentation of the road map to the appointment of a Palestinian prime minister is supposed to help erode Arafat's power. But it is Arafat who has appointed Mahmoud Abbas, and whether the latter will prove to be a lever for shunting Arafat aside or merely a pair of gloves to cover Arafat's terror-stained hands remains to be seen.

Beyond such flaws in specific provisions that could be amended in subsequent versions, the critical question is whether the plan's premises are sound. Is it true, for one thing, that the quartet makes a fairer broker of this quarrel than America? To be sure, U.S. policy is pro-Israel, in the sense of a strong commitment to Israel's survival and generous foreign aid. But Washington has often sided with the Arabs and clashed with Israel. It forced Israel to abandon its gains in the 1956 Sinai war, did nothing to break Egypt's blockade of Israeli shipping leading to the Six Day War, stayed Israel's hand in the Yom Kippur and Lebanon wars, rescued Arafat from Beirut, staunchly opposed Israeli settlements in the territories captured in 1967, refused to move its embassy to Israel's capital lest this offend the Arabs, voted for numerous anti-Israel resolutions in the Security Council such as one condemning the 1981 destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor and another condemning only Israel's actions in the early days of the current intifada, intervened none too subtly in 1999 to encourage the election of the dovish Ehud Barak as prime minister over the hawkish Benjamin Netanyahu, and, under Clinton, hosted Yasser Arafat at the White House more often than any other foreign leader. In short, although linked strongly to Israel, the United States has gone to lengths to honor the interests and demands of the other side.

No such fair-mindedness can be ascribed to the other players in the quartet. Ironically, Russia, which has developed friendly relations with Israel despite oil interests in the Arab world and personal links that stretch back to Soviet days, may be the most neutral. But the E.U. is more one-sidedly pro-Palestinian than America is pro-Israel. Its copious aid to the Palestinian Authority, according to the German newspaper *Die Welt*, has made "Palestine" the world's largest per capita recipient of foreign aid. And during the Israeli incursion into the cities of the West Bank last spring, the European parliament voted for economic sanctions against Israel, as indeed had been applied by the E.U. (or its predecessor) on previous occasions, such as during the war in Lebanon in 1982 or the first intifada in the mid 1980s. These are the same European lawmakers who have denounced America's sanctions on Libya, Iran, and Cuba. In this instance, the European Commission declined to impose the sanctions, but individual E.U. countries applied some themselves, while Belgian courts indicted Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, all amidst a firestorm of anti-Israel invective in the European press that frequently crossed the line to outright anti-Semitism.

As for the U.N., its bias against Israel is notorious. Representation on the Security Council and other U.N. bodies is chosen by region. Israel, however, is the only U.N. state that has not been allowed membership in any regional body. Recently, U.S. pressure resulted in Israel's inclusion in the so-called Western Europe and Others Group that we belong to, but only on condition that Israel not be eligible for nomination to the Security Council. Israel has likewise never served on the U.N. Human Rights Commission, although it has scarcely been neglected by that body. On the contrary, during its most recent meeting, the UNHRC adopted no fewer than eight resolutions castigating Israel, while adopting no more than one on any other country and none whatsoever concerning the large majority of the world's dictators. Among the eight resolutions on Israel was one that endorsed the Palestinians' right to fight for their cause "by all available means, including armed struggle," which implicitly meant suicide bombings. (Six of the nine E.U. members of the body voted for this.) Meanwhile, in the General Assembly last year, no fewer than 40 percent of the few hundred resolutions put to a vote were also devoted to the denunciation of Israel. As if this were not enough, the U.N. maintains three permanent bodies devoted exclusively to Israel- bashing. They are the Division for Palestinian Rights of the U.N. Secretariat, the Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices in the Territories, and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. A less suitable intermediary would be hard to invent.

The quartet itself, according to the *New York Times*, was the creation of Terje Roed-Larsen, the U.N. special envoy to the Middle East, who proclaimed last year that "the government of Israel has lost all moral ground in this conflict," by which statement, so one would have thought, he lost all moral ground as a negotiator.

The still deeper flaw in the road map's premises is the presumption that with the terms of settlement fairly apparent, all that is needed is a guide for getting there. In the final analysis, however, the missing ingredient for peace between Israel and the Palestinians is not a blueprint of the destination, nor is it the route. The missing ingredient is a decision by the Palestinians and the other Arabs to accept the existence of a Jewish state in their midst and to live in permanent peace with it. Despite all the Palestinians have suffered these two and a half years, public opinion polls show that a clear majority of them support continuing the intifada and suicide bombing and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that about half say that the goal should be the "total liberation of Palestine," in other words, the elimination of Israel. The other half of the Palestinians say they want a two-state solution. When that half grows and becomes dominant, then and only then, will real peace be possible.

Since the Six Day War, the critical divide in international approaches to the Arab-Israeli broil has been between a negotiated settlement and an imposed one. Israel has insisted on the former precisely because it wants a settlement to be more than pro forma. In an imposed settlement, the Arab representatives might make some empty prescribed gestures in return for concessions that could facilitate future efforts to destroy Israel. An example of such a gesture was the statement that Joschka Fischer, the German foreign minister, wrote and induced Arafat to issue denouncing the suicide bombing of the Dolphinarium disco that killed two dozen Israeli teenagers in June 2001. A month later, the parents of the attacker proudly showed German television interviewers a letter from Arafat proclaiming their son a "martyr" and "a model of manhood and sacrifice for Allah and the homeland."

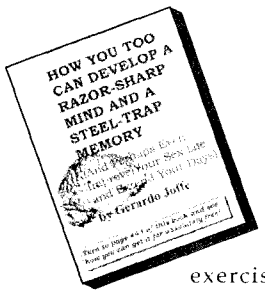
That an imposed settlement is precisely what our European partners in the quartet have in mind was made abundantly clear by their response to Bush's announcement of the road map. The president said that upon its delivery to the parties "we will expect and welcome contributions from Israel and the Palestinians to this document." This evoked anguished reactions. The *New York Times* quoted one "Western diplomat" as complaining that "it's not meant to be a negotiated document," while the *Washington Post* cited "a senior European diplomat" who said: "When we negotiated it, the idea was to impose the road map, not to put it on the table." Who will prevail within the quartet remains to be seen, but the road map itself, with its dozens of sequenced prescribed steps, smacks more of an imposed than a negotiated settlement.

The simple reality is that the moment the Palestinians make a wholehearted turn toward peace, no road map will be necessary. Sadat had no such guide. His historic trip to Jerusalem was a sequence of improvisations. But when he addressed the Knesset and demonstrated his acceptance of Israel with palpable sincerity, he got back every inch of the Sinai and other demands as well. The territorial issues in the West Bank are more complex, and the Palestinians are not likely to get every inch, but a dramatic demonstration of willingness to accept Israel and live in peace would elicit sweeping concessions. Sharon has said he is willing to make painful compromises, but in response to such a gesture from the Palestinians, the Israeli public would insist on going further than Sharon probably has in mind to do. What would such a gesture look like? There is no need for outsiders to write a script. When the feeling is sincere, it will be easy enough to convey. Until it comes, even the most carefully crafted road maps will lead nowhere. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLEASE SELECT FROM THESE IMPORTANT BOOKS

They May Change Your Life

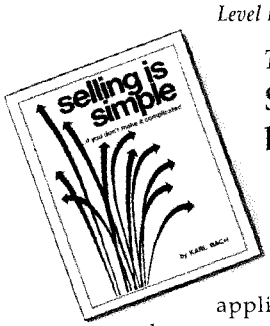


Probably this year's most important self-improvement book...

Only $29.95*

*(*but see below for an **even better deal**.)*

It is scientifically proven: Your brain is like a muscle. Sit in front of the tube, preferably with a six-pack and a bag of potato chips and it will turn flabby and quite useless. Exercise it vigorously and you will indeed be able to develop a razor-sharp mind and a steel-trap memory. There may even be a bonus of better sex and longer life. And, finally, a rigorously exercised brain will not develop Alzheimer's disease. This breakthrough book (soft cover, 460 pages, 8-1/2" x 11" format) will be your trainer and monitor to your new well-developed brain. (A $30 Haverhills gift certificate is bound into the book. So it's practically FREE. What a deal!) Sid Tuchman of Indianapolis, IN says: *"What an astonishing book! One can almost hear those brain cells crackle!"* Hugh Cunningham, DDS, of Albany, GA says: *"This is marvelous! I already feel a whole lot smarter than before I immersed myself in Joffe's 16-Level Paradigm."* And Lloyd Hammett of Winnfield, LA says: *"If this book will not make you smarter, nothing will."*



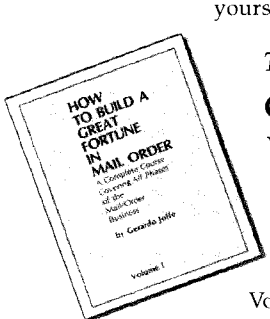
The most important book about salesmanship ever written ...

Selling is Simple...
by Karl Bach

Only $19.95*

*(*but see below for an **even better deal**.)*

Karl Bach was a penniless and uneducated German-Jewish immigrant. He spoke very little English and, to top it off, he had a physical impediment. Not being able to get any other job, he enlisted as a Fuller Brush salesman. Within two months, he became the most productive salesman Fuller had ever had. From a standing start, he had developed irresistible sales techniques. He applied those methods and insights to the life insurance business. Within three years, he became one of the most successful life insurance producers in the US. He founded and became principal owner of the San Francisco Life Insurance Company, which eventually merged with the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company. He became a very, very wealthy man. In this book, Karl reveals his enormously successful salesmanship methods. If you are in <u>any</u> area of selling, you should be able to at least quadruple your performance by reading this groundbreaking book and following its precepts. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful as Karl Bach -- you have so much more going for yourself than he did. You owe it to yourself to buy this book. You and your family will be glad you did.



This course may lead you to a great future...

Get Rich in Mail Order (a 7-volume course)
Volume I

Just $19.95*

*(*but see below for an **even better deal**.)*

Gerardo Joffe is president emeritus of Haverhills. He founded it in 1967. It's one of the oldest and most successful mail-order companies in the United States. He is an engineer and a Harvard MBA. In his 7-volume work, *How to Build a Great Fortune in Mail Order*, he gives a complete course on how to get started in this fascinating business, how to prosper in it, and how to build a great fortune in it. Volume I (207 pages) covers the following important topics: **Lesson 1** – *What the Mail-Order Business Is All About*; **Lesson 2** – *How to Get Started in the Mail-Order Business*; **Lesson 3** – *How to Organize Your Mail-Order Business*; **Lesson 4** – *Some First Thoughts About Mail-Order Merchandise*. There are also two important appendixes: **A** – *Components and Structure of a Mail-Order Offer*; **B** – *Your Chances for Success in the Mail-Order Business*. *There is also an "expanded" version. It costs $39.95 and includes a Workbook with all of the exhibits and a 3-Cassette Audiotape Set for studying at leisure while you drive. It is highly recommended. This is a continuity. Unless cancelled, you will get subsequent volumes at approximately six-week intervals. Even if you do not plan to go into the mail-order business, you will benefit greatly by the insights and revelations of this course. The course covers merchandising, advertising, marketing, customer service, retail store operations, financial and ratio analysis, syndication, data processing, and much more. The course is a virtual college education. Please, only credit card orders for this item.

PLEASE GIVE ORDER CODE Y486

*Our "special deal": **BUY ANY 2 BOOKS AND GET ANOTHER ONE FREE!**

For instance: Buy a $29.95 book and a $19.95 book and get another $19.95 book FREE!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER BY TOLL-FREE PHONE OR BY FAX. SEE NUMBERS BELOW.

For customer service, please call (415) 356-7801. For wholesale orders, call Chris Simpson at that same number.

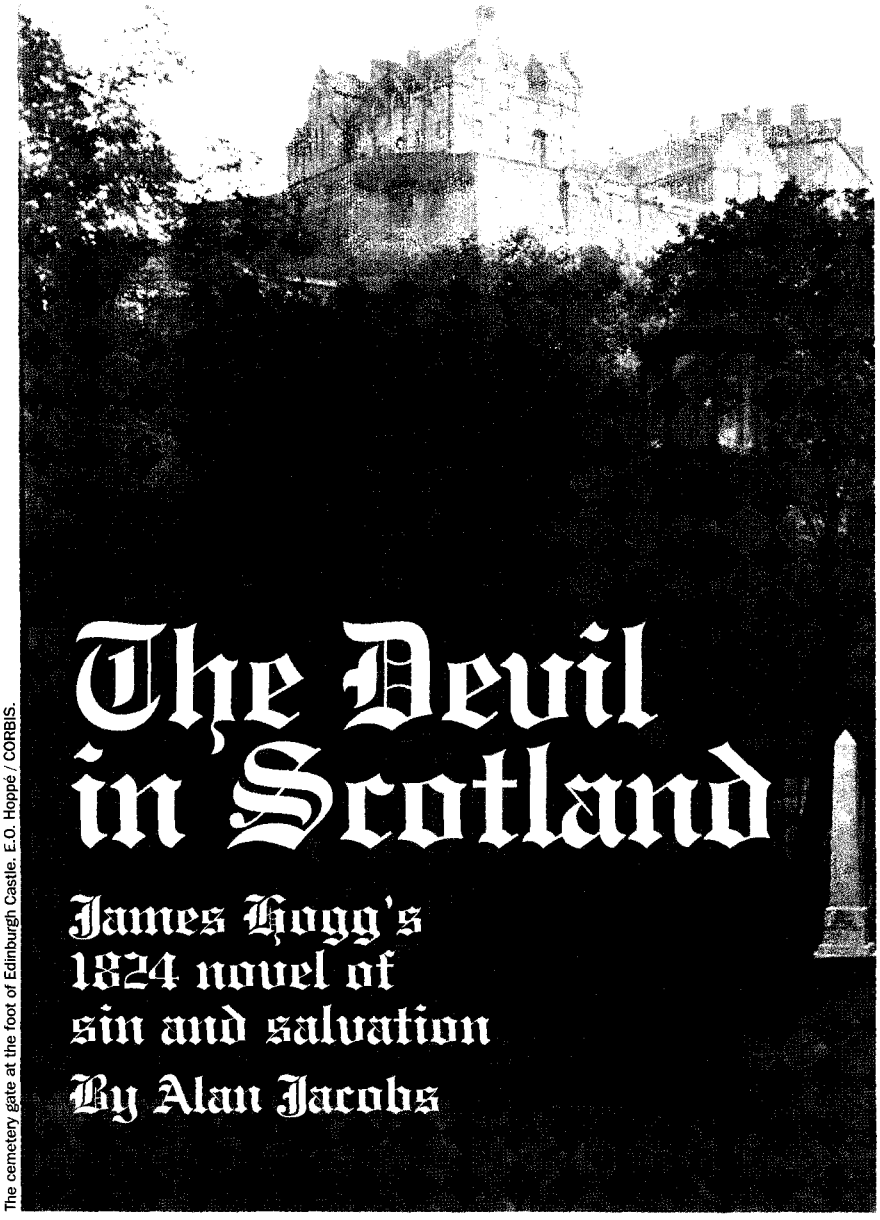
You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or Visa/MasterCard. Credit Card orders only, please, for "Get Rich in Mail Order." Add shipping/insurance of $4.95 for one book or $9.90 for two or more books, plus sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day return. We do not refund shipping charges.

Code: Y486

advance books
division of jomira/advance
470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

✆ Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804 ✆
Visit our website at www.jomirabooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The cemetery gate at the foot of Edinburgh Castle. E.O. Hoppé / CORBIS.

The Devil in Scotland

James Hogg's 1824 novel of sin and salvation

By Alan Jacobs

There is a kind of literary greatness that only a badly made book can possess. Badly made books are not typically great, of course; but it sometimes happens that a writer of limited skills encounters a subject that runs away with him—and when that happens, the result can achieve a narrative propulsion that makes its flaws seem insignificant. The reader notices them, surely, and perhaps smiles, but keeps on reading, caught by the heedless momentum of the tale. Such a subject came once to a man named James Hogg.

Alan Jacobs teaches English at Wheaton College in Illinois. His most recent book is A Theology of Reading: The Hermeneutics of Love.

Hogg was born in the Ettrick Forest, in the Border country of Scotland, in 1770. As a boy and a young man he worked as a shepherd, but wished to become a writer, so he sent some of his poems to Sir Walter Scott, who praised them and promoted their author. In that age—so devoted to the idea that poetic genius surges up from within the sensitive breast but can be stifled by education—it was perhaps inevitable that Hogg would become famous as the "Ettrick Shepherd."

Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner
by James Hogg
New York Review of Books, 272 pp., $12.95

Hogg seemed to have found the role rather congenial; in his books he presents himself as a roughhewn and shrewd peasant, and he often claimed (falsely) that he avoided reading other people's books in order to preserve his artistic integrity. But at least one visitor to Hogg in Edinburgh, where the poet had moved in 1810, was stunned to find him "smooth, well-looking, and gentlemanly." Apparently this fellow had expected to find Hogg urging a flock of sheep along the Royal Mile. Perhaps sensing the incongruity between his public image and his private life, Hogg retired in 1816 to a farm and lived in the country for most of the rest of his life. He died in 1835, and Wordsworth wrote an elegy for him.

Hogg published hundreds of poems, several novels, a memoir of Walter Scott, and much else. None of it seems to be especially good—with one exception: a novel entitled *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, published in 1824. This extraordinary book has recently been reprinted by New York Review of Books, and it deserves renewed attention, although it may be too strange to receive it. Margot Livesey, a novelist who has written an introduction to this edition, commends the book by claiming that it "becomes only more piercingly relevant with each passing year." In her view, this is because "James Hogg offers a compelling and subtle portrait of a human condition that, alas, we ignore at our peril: fanaticism."

Though I am glad to see Livesey's praise of Hogg's masterpiece, her account of the book's importance is unhelpful, chiefly because the term "fanaticism" is incapable of meaningful definition. What is a fanatic, after all? It seems to me that a fanatic can best be defined as someone who believes something I do not and believes it more deeply than I believe anything. Fanaticism, then, by extension, is the state of experiencing intense and unimaginable assurance—unimaginable, that is, to me. Fanaticism, even more than beauty, is in the eye of the beholder.

But Hogg was not pursuing anything so vague as fanaticism. It is true that Hogg himself, or rather the fictional "editor" of the story, uses Livesey's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favored term to encapsulate the horrific narrative he has just presented to us: "We have heard much of the rage of fanaticism in former days [that is, the seventeenth century, in which the narrative is set], but nothing to this." It is also true that a pirated and bowdlerized version of the novel published two years after Hogg's death was called *The Confessions of a Fanatic*. But fanaticism in general does not interest Hogg. A much more theologically and historically particular belief is what he is interested in limning. Its technical name is antinomianism, and more precisely still, the kind of antinomianism that can arise from the doctrine called "predestination to election."

This belief has never been summed up more succinctly than by Anne Hutchinson, the controversial seventeenth-century New Englander: "As I do understand it, laws, commands, rules and edicts are for those who have not the light which makes plain the pathway. He who has God's grace in his heart cannot go astray." Though the extremity of Hutchinson's views led to her banishment from Massachusetts, she argued that they constituted the logical extension of the belief shared by all Puritans (and many other Protestants) that Christians live under a "covenant of grace," not a "covenant of law." That is, Christians are redeemed not by any good works but by God's free gift of salvation. This gift is accompanied by the presence of the Holy Spirit: The believer is properly guided by that "indwelling" Spirit rather than by the lifeless machinery of the Law. Those teaching this view of salvation have typically then gone on to assert that the Holy Spirit would never lead us to do anything that is contrary to the moral law as presented in Scripture, but Hutchinson was not careful on this point, and that, more than anything else, got her banished.

This view can be intensified and complicated by the specifically Calvinist belief in "predestination to election"—that is, God's choice, determined even before the Creation, of those who would be saved—and its corresponding doctrine, the "perseverance of the saints." Those whom God elects *cannot* lose their salvation; to think otherwise would be to compromise the divine sovereignty. Thus when the "justified sinner" of the title, a disturbed young man named Robert Wringhim, suggests to his mysterious friend that "indubitably there were degrees of sinning which would induce the Almighty to throw off the very elect," the friend responds promptly:

James Hogg

> Why, sir, . . . by vending such an insinuation, you put discredit on the great atonement, in which you trust. . . . Now, when you know, as you do (and as every one of the elect may know of himself) that this Saviour died for you, namely and particularly, dare you say that there is not enough of merit in His great atonement to annihilate all your sins, let them be as heinous and atrocious as they may? And, moreover, do you not acknowledge that God hath pre-ordained and decreed whatsoever comes to pass? Then, how is it that you should deem it in your power to eschew one action of your life, whether good or evil? . . . That is, none of us knows what is pre-ordained, but whatever it is pre-ordained we must do, and none of these things will be laid to our charge.

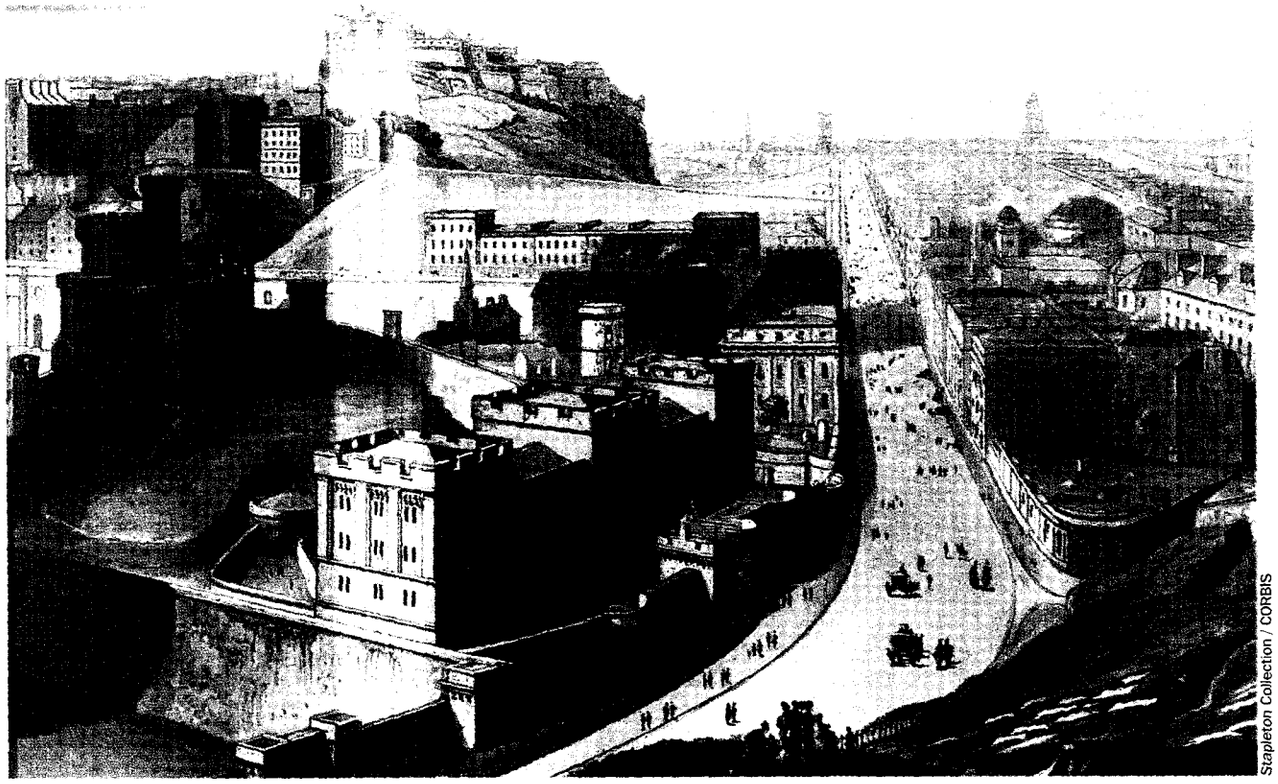
This argument is repeated several times in the course of the story. In the portion called the "Editor's Narrative," which precedes Robert's first-person account, we hear that whenever Robert questioned "the boundlessness of the true Christian's freedom," and expressed "doubts that, chosen as he knew he was from all eternity, still it might be possible for him to commit acts that would exclude him from the limits of the covenant," his friend was quick to counter, "with mighty fluency, that the thing was utterly impossible, and altogether inconsistent with eternal predestination."

The question that drives Hogg's novel, and drives it relentlessly, is simply this: What are the psychological and moral consequences of holding these theological convictions? What happens to a young man who cannot answer the "mighty fluency" of arguments that the elect (like Nietzsche's "supermen") are above all law?

In pursuing this question, Hogg disregards almost everything that a good novelist is supposed to pay attention to. One notes again and again inconsistencies of plot and character, inexplicable changes in narrative direction, and unbelievable coincidences. One of the most notable lapses occurs in a scene, rather late in the novel, in which an old peasant relates a lengthy tale about how Satan himself was caught preaching in a village church. At first Hogg has the peasant speaking in very broad Scots, with every oddity of pronunciation represented phonetically; but soon he grows tired of this and lapses into standard (and quite eloquent) English, only to veer back into dialect as the story nears its end. But by the time I got to this point in the novel I didn't care about Hogg's craft. It was the story that mattered to me. I wanted to know more about the Devil.

And Hogg tells me quite a lot about Old Slewfoot—though the first part of the story, which contains the main part of the Editor's Narrative, presents Robert Wringhim simply as an ill-tempered and spiteful youth, deeply resentful of his sanguine, well-adjusted, hail-fellow-well-met older brother George. The "editor" does not pretend

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Stapleton Collection / CORBIS

View of Edinburgh from Carlton Hill *by William Daniell (c. 1820).*

to understand Robert's behavior; but neither does he claim to be a dispassionate observer of this family's difficulties. After George's strange and violent death, followed soon by the demise of his debauched old father, Robert inherits the family estate and celebrates with his Calvinist friends the passage of the family fortune into the hands of the elect:

> Then, after due thanks returned, they parted rejoicing in spirit; which thanks, by the by, consisted wholly in telling the Almighty what he was; and informing, with very particular precision, what they were who addressed him; for [the preacher's] whole system of popular declamation consisted, it seems, in this—to denounce all men and women to destruction, and then hold out hopes to his adherents that they were the chosen few, included in the promises, and who could never fall away. It would appear that this pharisaical doctrine is a very delicious one, and the most grateful of all others to the worst characters.

But, as I have noted, Hogg does not allow the "editor" simply to have his way with the story; we hear Robert's own account as well: "My sorrows have all been for a slighted gospel," he begins, and the reader gets to hear that gospel expounded by one who has staked his life and soul on it. In the end this religion may gain little credit from its defender; but still, the young man's story—which recapitulates much of what we have heard from the editor in very different terms—is often moving. This is so especially in his description of a period of spiritual hopelessness, which, not incidentally, closely resembles the account John Bunyan (of *Pilgrim's Progress* fame) gave of his own life in *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, a book written at almost exactly the same time that the events of this narrative are said to have taken place. But if Bunyan's story is one of fear and despair overcome, Robert tells a very different tale—a story of theological error spiraling out of control, generating violence and depravity beyond measure, bringing destruction to almost everyone in Robert's path and most of all to himself.

All this misery is presided over by Robert's strange friend, who continually professes his admiration for Robert, and his determination to follow and learn from Robert, but who seems increasingly though subtly to control Robert's life. He professes Christian belief in a strictly Calvinist form, but he will not pray with Robert, and only with reluctance even gives a name: "Very well, you may call me Gil-Martin. It is not my *Christian* name, but it *is* a name which may serve your turn." When Robert wonders whether this reluctance to give his "real" name indicates embarrassment about his parentage, Gil-Martin curtly replies, "I have no parents save one, whom I do not acknowledge." Gil-Martin has the curious ability to alter his appearance so that he resembles those he comes in contact with, although in the latter stages of Robert's sad narration the friend seems to settle into a fixed form: that of Robert's murdered brother. He repeatedly calls Robert to remember his divine vocation, which (he says) is that of a warrior for the Lord, a deadly enemy of the enemies of the Gospel.

Considering Gil-Martin's many and remarkable gifts, including his evident powers of command, Robert comes to the conclusion that his friend is Czar Peter of Russia ("having heard that he had been traveling through Europe in disguise"). Gil-Martin's only reply to this speculation is that he is indeed a prince, and one with many subjects in his thrall. As Robert's moral and physical condition deteriorates, as he loses memory

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of whole weeks and months of his life, as he is cast out of his house and his world, Gil-Martin never deserts him—even though Robert passionately wishes he would. Instead he remains almost always by Robert's side, looking ever more haggard and blasted himself, but always ready to remind Robert that he is indeed one of God's elect, whose every deed, however wicked it might appear to the reprobate eye, is ordained, effected, and accounted gracious by God Himself.

In her introduction Margot Livesey is at pains to insist upon the "relevance" of Hogg's story: "It is a book that will stay with you for many years and to which, until the world changes dramatically, you will have many opportunities to refer." It is not clear precisely what she means, except that she believes that the fanatical, like the poor, will always be with us. Still, whom would she designate as fanatics? She doesn't say. If Hogg's book does have some contemporary relevance, it would scarcely be to any Calvinists in our midst; they tend to be peaceable folk who regularly belie Hogg's presentation of the dangers of their faith.

Perhaps, though, we may fairly recognize in Hogg's sordid tale a particular class of fanatic: those who believe that that the righteousness of their cause not only excuses but positively commends them for the commission of *any* deed done to further it. It is a phenomenon we may recognize in many spheres of culture and on many levels of seriousness, from the "heavenly deception" practiced by evangelists of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, to the sanctimonious manifestoes that accompanied the exploding packages of the Unabomber, to the terrorism of Islamic militants with their claims to divine sanction and reward.

All exemplify the fanaticism decried by Hogg: an antinomianism that declares that laws are made for others and mean nothing to *us*. By daring what others dare not, we prove both the power of our cause and the unflinching constancy of our faith in it. For this belief we hazard all, and we call our daring holiness. ♦

Oy Vey!

The anxieties of America's Jews.

BY WERNER J. DANNHAUSER

Jews are forever taking their temperature. They worry constantly about matters like declining birthrates and increasing anti-Semitism. They brood not only over their future, but—as demonstrated by their penchant for writing histories of all things Jewish—over their past, as well.

Occasionally, somebody suggests that Jews would be better off if they threw away their psychic thermometers. But no sane observer can honestly conclude that the patient suffers only from imaginary illnesses. The Jewish people forever faces grave external threats and internal tensions, and temperature-taking would seem to be in order. Moreover, taking stock is a venerable tradition among Jews, inaugurated by God Himself when He described them as a "stiff-necked people."

The tradition continues with two hefty collections of essays, *Jewish Polity and American Civil Society* and *Jews and the American Public Square*, both edited by Alan Mittleman, Jonathan D. Sarna, and Robert Licht. Both books furnish the reader with a great deal of useful information about Jews in America, while the essays included in the books are characterized by competence and earnestness throughout. Each author was afforded great latitude, so repetition was inevitable, but not excessive.

The volumes differ in their emphasis. *Jewish Polity and American Civil Society* concentrates on the internal organization of the Jewish community, characterized as a polity by the late Daniel Elazar because its "institutional infrastructure" manifests, according to Alan Mittleman, certain "quasi-governmental features." *Jews and the American Public Square* deals, as it were, with the "foreign policy" of this polity, its relation with American civil society at large.

Obviously, these overlap to some degree: Some anti-Jewish sentiment exists in that civil society and shapes the response of the Jewish community. Indeed, the organization of the Jewish polity cannot be grasped without paying attention to its three most prominent agencies—the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League—which are commonly called "defense" organizations, defending as they do the Jews against potential and actual injuries. They tend to overshadow the various Jewish federations (originally loosely linked as the Federation of Jewish Charities), although these charitable organizations have done and continue to do a great deal of useful work in dealing with various social problems. Nevertheless, the "Big Three" are much more prominent. They fight indifference or hostility to Jews in various ways, from legal action and lobbying efforts to accentuating the positive contributions of Jews to the United States. (Years ago, I overheard a boy on a New York subway platform ask, "Mommy, is Davy Crockett Jewish?" "No," she answered, "but Dr. Jonas Salk is.")

These Jewish organizations differed in makeup and outlook. The American Jewish Committee used to be made up primarily of German Jews whereas the American Jewish Congress represented East European Jews. The former was more upscale and conservative than the latter, while the Anti-Defamation League tended to be more brash than

Werner J. Dannhauser is a visiting professor in political theory at Michigan State University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the other two. Today, much more harmony prevails than in the past, above all because support of Israel unites America's Jewish community. Milton Himmelfarb was right when some years ago he articulated the widespread feeling among Jews that they could simply not make it without Israel. Nevertheless a good deal of fractiousness remains in the "Jewish polity." One is reminded of the old joke that if Robinson Crusoe were Jewish, he would have promptly built two synagogues on his island, one in which to worship and one he would not be caught dead in.

Indeed, discord is alive and well in Jewish religious movements of this country, to which six chapters are devoted in *Jewish Polity and American Civil Society*. The chapters on conservative, reform, and orthodox Judaism, the mainstream, are all competent, though at times they illustrate the baleful effects of social science on English prose. The discussions of ultra-orthodoxy, reconstructionism, and Jewish Renewal are more intriguing and informative. Samuel C. Heilman shows how the ultra-orthodox, the *haredim*, are driven above all by the urge to be left alone. Reconstructionism, which is in some ways the Reform Judaism of Eastern European Jews, receives a balanced analysis by David A. Teutsch. Finally, Allan Arkush is deliciously though benignly satirical about "Jewish Renewal" (basically the words and deeds of Arthur Waskow and Michael Lerner); Arkush's deadpan descriptions of things like "eco-Kosher" liven up a volume necessarily short on mirth.

One cannot read the various expositions offered in these books without becoming aware of historical change. It was probably inevitable that Senator Joseph Lieberman play a role in both volumes, but one is repeatedly struck by how he differs from the typical Orthodox Jew of, say, fifty years ago. It is not that he does not wear a skull cap on a daily basis; it is that one finds next to nothing in his speech or deeds to the effect that one of the designs of the Torah, Jewish Law, is to separate the Jews from the world of non-Jews, an omission that cannot be completely explained by his desire to serve as president of the United States.

CORBIS

[illegible] immigrants in New York [illegible] 1918

The fact that American Jews live in a world that is not a Jewish world is the predominant theme of *Jews and the American Public Square*. Neither is the United States exclusively Christian, to be sure, but it is a country the overwhelming majority of which is Christian and in which about two percent are Jewish. How shall they act, this minority which commands more than two percent of what one can call public attention? In examining the question, one must face squarely the reality that the Jewish community is overwhelmingly liberal. To borrow from Milton Himmelfarb again, Jews earn like Episcopalians but vote like Puerto Ricans. One ought not to be all that surprised: Historically, liberals have been good to the Jews, or at least better than conservatives, ever since the French Revolution set the stage for the entry of Jews into both modernity and "the public square."

Jewish Polity and American Civil Society
Communal Agencies and Religious Movements in the American Public Square
edited by Alan Mittleman, Jonathan D. Sarna, and Robert Licht
Rowman & Littlefield, 440 pp., $75

Jews and the American Public Square
Debating Religion and Republic
edited by Alan Mittleman, Jonathan D. Sarna, and Robert Licht
Rowman & Littlefield, 392 pp., $75

Nowhere did the process succeed more spectacularly than in the United States; not since the Golden Age of Jews in Spain have Jews been so prosperous. They took to America, a constitutional republic in which politics involved not only what ought to be done, but what could be done under the law. One might say that for Jews the favorite part of the law was the First Amendment, which prohibited the establishment of a national religion and guaranteed the free exercise of religion. Jews were in the forefront of interpreting that amendment to call for a strict separation between church and state.

In other words they mistook Jefferson's interpretation of the Constitution for the language of the Constitution itself. In *Jews and the American Public Square*, Ralph Lerner, Hillel Fradkin, and others show persuasively that the Founders, including Jefferson himself, had a much more nuanced and wise view of the matter. They envisioned a nation that, in Washington's beautiful phrase, would give to "bigotry no sanction," but also a nation in which the free worship of free men would prosper. They almost certainly did not envision a nation characterized by what Richard John Neuhaus famously named "the naked public square," a country in which a principled indifference to religion operates against religious expression as such.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bettmann / CORBIS

An American-Jewish march in protest against Nazi Germany in 1938.

I do not mean to suggest that Jews were unanimously monolithic in advocating "strict separation." Vocal Jewish conservatives have never found it excessively difficult to propagate their views, to advocate voluntary prayers in school, to support judicious public assistance to parochial schools, etc. And there remains, as well, the fact that Jewish alertness to the threat of Jew-hatred shouldn't be dismissed. Jewish nervousness about living in a Christian world is easy to understand, as is a kind of Jewish shyness toward non-Jews as the Jewish people gropes toward a balanced view of church-state relations.

These two well-intentioned and helpful volumes can scarcely be expected to solve all these problems. In an afterward to *Jewish Polity and American Civil Society*, Alan Mittleman sagely remarks that each Jewish group must learn to cope with changing historical circumstances. Obviously *every* Jewish group must cope with an event that happened after these essays were written, September 11, 2001. New threats and problems face not only the Jewish people, but the country that has permitted them to thrive. It is only natural that Jews both ask God to bless America—and that they keep their psychic thermometers handy. ♦

Innocents Abroad

The American military's new global responsibilities.

BY CHRISTIAN D. BROSE

The end of the Cold War in 1991 opened a decade of serious confusion for the United States as it grappled to define its proper role in the new era. As Bush the Elder and Clinton the Expedient failed to develop a comprehensive strategic vision, the U.S. military spent the 1990s pursuing missions plainly antithetical to its nature. Nineteen-year-old GIs were ordered to build nations, rather than destroy them—and to win over the "hearts and minds," instead of fighting enemy combatants. American soldiers thus experienced profound difficulties as they attempted to create order and build civil society in Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

The Mission
Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military
by Dana Priest
W.W. Norton & Co., 384 pp., $26.95

Christian D. Brose is assistant editor of the National Interest.

In her new book *The Mission*, Dana Priest describes the U.S. military's unparalleled success at waging war even as it repeatedly bumbles peacekeeping missions. The main culprit, argues Priest, a *Washington Post* reporter, is feckless political leadership. She is right. Successive post-Cold War administrations have treated the U.S. military as a kind of global duct tape: a quick fix for the messy problems of a "unipolar" world.

Priest divides her book into thirds, the first of which looks at the military's five regional commanders in chief, who oversee all operations in their theaters of action. These four-star generals amassed great authority when the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act increased both their budgets and regional responsibilities. Priest calls them "proconsuls to the empire." They have increasingly come to embody America's global presence—possessing greater diplomatic leverage than ambassadors and performing functions that previously fell to civilian agencies.

The second portion of *The Mission* examines the recently expanded role of Special Operations soldiers, whose marching orders include everything from training security forces in Nigeria to waging the war on drugs in Colombia. The emerging portrait shows a rough fraternity of violent alpha males. Yet, Priest tells their story with compassion. Special Operations soldiers have a lot of steam to let off, having to endure complex and ill-defined missions that are especially prone to failure. Green Berets, for example, were sent to train Colombian security forces to fight leftist rebels and destroy the coca crops used to make cocaine. But when the job was done, Colombian farmers simply replanted their lucrative drug crop. And (big surprise) they grew even fonder of the leftist rebels. U.S. soldiers did their part, but no one else did theirs.

Such policies, and others, were predicated on the naive assumption that military "engagement" would promote professionalism and thereby increase political stability abroad. But military training alone cannot remake

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

splintered societies, enable people to lift themselves out of poverty, or cultivate democratic political cultures. Indeed, it takes a special kind of optimism to believe that a few human rights lectures from U.S. Special Forces could effect a change of heart in Indonesia's Kopassus forces, and ensure that they not commit atrocities in East Timor.

In the book's final section, Priest examines the Clinton administration's policy toward the Balkans, particularly Kosovo, where a reluctant war from the air begot an even more befuddled peace on the ground. Rather than separating two warring peoples, a solution that Priest suggests would have been more realistic, Clinton and his allies demanded an integrated, democratic Kosovo. And their main tool of choice for bringing about this new and unprecedented state of affairs was, of course, the military.

If it is true that soldiers must be like dogs—devoted to their friends and vicious to their enemies—it is also true that their black-and-white vision is unsuited to political and social nuance. Yet the Clinton administration cast these young dogs of war into situations where friends and enemies are indistinguishable: Serbs killed and displaced Albanians during NATO's air campaign, and Albanians eagerly returned the favor during the U.N.'s feckless peacekeeping mission. Priest offers a rich account of that failed, and still failing, mission. Her book contains colorful anecdotal evidence to support two central truths about nation-building: It is an all-or-nothing endeavor, and the military cannot take the lead role.

Although Priest sometimes casts America's military as imperial, one gathers her problem is not with a forward-leaning U.S. foreign policy. Rather, it is the crude manner in which America has oafishly tripped and fallen into various post-Cold War messes. The United States eagerly deployed its soldiers to keep peace and build nations, but failed to follow through properly with a coordinated army of political and legal advisers, civil engineers, and agricultural specialists.

U.S. Marines in Somalia

AFP

But if the United States should decrease its reliance on the military to achieve its foreign policy goals, as Priest contends, who then needs to start pulling a larger load? The State Department should take the lead, but its sclerotic bureaucracy currently prohibits it from becoming a forceful counterpart to the Pentagon. And, among other problems, the department has no experienced leaders who can effectively coordinate policy on a regional basis. Thus, if the United States wishes to adopt the imperial burden it found crying on its doorstep twelve years ago, it must transform a lot more than its national security strategy. It must also address its own structure and management, or its pledge to rebuild Iraq may prove empty, and Afghanistan could start looking a lot more like, well, Afghanistan. ♦

Mugged by Surreality

Auctioning off the legacy of André Breton.

BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

France has always been a country with a divided soul: on one side, a record of humanistic Enlightenment philosophy and modern art unrivalled by any other nation; on the other side, a record of scandals such as the appeasement of the Nazis from the 1930s until the end of World War II. It was only a few years ago that historians revealed the unfortunate fact that before D-Day the "French Resistance" was almost entirely made up of Jews, Spanish Republican refugees who had fled across the Pyrenees at the end of the Spanish civil war, North African Arabs, Armenians, and other "un-French" elements.

Stephen Schwartz is the author of The Two Faces of Islam *and director of the Islam and Democracy Program at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.*

But something French continues to claim us—in fact, *ought* to claim us, as I remembered at the end of last year, when French newspapers reported the impending auction of one of the great literary archives of modernism, the collection amassed by André Breton (1896-1966).

The surrealist wizard was an outstanding art critic as well as a classic prose writer, a major poet, and a perceptive commentator on more general intellectual history. Because of his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All pictures: Stefano Binachetti / CORBIS.

A signed picture of surrealist poets in 1932: André Breton, Paul Eluard, Tristan Tzara, and Benjamin Péret.

commitment to the work of leading painters and sculptors, Breton's art collection ranged from André Derain to Man Ray and Joan Miró, from Giacometti to James Rosenquist, a Pop artist he admired. But he was also a connoisseur of the indigenous arts of the Pacific, especially New Guinea and its neighboring islands, as well as of the Hopi and other Pueblo Indians and the pre-Columbian cultures of Mexico. What's more, his personal friendships extended from the outstanding Parisian poets and artists of his time to such figures as Sigmund Freud and Leon Trotsky—all of whom presented him with signed books and manuscripts.

For these reasons, his archive is considered extremely valuable—perhaps too valuable, for the French government rejected appeals that it endow a foundation to house it. Some in the media suggested the total collection (5,300 lots, which are likely to fill six catalogues) could fetch up to $40 million when it comes before the public at the CalmelsCohen auction house next month.

Within weeks of the news report, however, a variegated group of minor hangers-on had issued a "surrealist protest" in which they tried to make a scandal out of the sale. With the names of Susan Sontag and John Ashbery affixed alongside lesser lights, the signatories labeled the sale "the shame of the French government." They demanded the authorities take action to preserve the "site" of the collection, an apartment on the Rue Fontaine in Paris where Breton lived most of his life.

Some sins of the surrealists and wannabe surrealists may be forgiven, but the sin of lacking a sense of irony is not among them. If there was ever an author who believed that an institutional commemoration, whether in the form of prize monies, a public archive, a museum, or a statue, should be considered a blot on his reputation, it was Breton. Generally derided as the authoritarian "pope" of the surrealists, avid to exclude dissidents from the movement's ranks, Breton may have been less than libertarian in private. But he was no seeker of state honors. He loved secret societies, and loathed official ones. For his latter-day mimics to demand official recognition for him is obtuse, to say the least.

Indeed, the often-maligned surrealists had quite a bit to say about the idea of "French grandeur" that we hear, once again, extolled by the likes of Chirac. Surrealism was, in many ways, a product of the profound disillusionment with French nationalism that emerged from the horror of World War I. Many of the surrealist writers had served on the front lines, and their works were suffused with something far beyond mere anti-militarism. They were disgusted with the way their country's leaders perverted public values and emotions to justify such massacres as the horror of Verdun, in 1916, when hundreds of thousands of soldiers were sacrificed for nothing other than prestige. Benjamin Péret wrote, in a classic expression of his generation's rage: *Lend me your arm / to replace my leg / The rats ate it for me / at Verdun / at Verdun*. A genius in prose, Aragon, concluded his *Treatise on Style* with the memorable line, "I defecate on the French army in its totality forever."

Of course, one might claim that such statements merely reinforced the French defeatism that caused the nation's collapse before the Nazis' advance in 1940 and finds a contemporary echo in the present French rhetoric about war with Iraq. And

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is something to the claim. The surrealists, particularly in their early period, reveled in the defeatist idiom characteristic of the French Left after World War I. The French Left, while proclaiming social reform amid the global Depression, steadfastly refused to support military intervention against Germany. The Popular Front government of Léon Blum shed crocodile tears over the fate of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, massacred with the help of the German air force and Italian navy, but provided almost no military help for the Spanish Republic to organize its defense. They oohed and aahed over Picasso's painting *Guernica*, which was conceived as a protest against the Nazi terror bombing of the ancient Basque capital, but they would not release French warplanes that might have shot the German bombers out of the skies over Spain.

But there remains the fact that André Breton idolized Trotsky, who founded the Red Army. Indeed, Breton served in the Second World War, as he had in the First, as a doctor in the army medical corps. The hatred of the surrealists seems consistently directed less against militarism than against French hypocrisy.

Thus in 1927, when the municipal officials of Charleville, the birthplace of Arthur Rimbaud, proposed to replace a bust of Rimbaud that had been melted down for artillery shells by the Germans, Breton and his comrades responded—in good surrealist fashion—by declaring, not that Rimbaud was unworthy of being honored by France, but that France was unworthy of honoring Rimbaud. The brilliant poet and philosopher Raymond Queneau collected the comments Rimbaud had actually made about his native town and French culture. "You should be happy not to live in Charleville," Rimbaud wrote his friend Georges Izambard. "My native city is the stupidest of all the little provincial towns." The surrealists described him as "a man who incarnates the highest conception of . . . the active defeatism that in wartime you put in front of the firing squad." They noted Rimbaud's comment on the German occupation of the country, following the debacle of 1870: "The day before yesterday I went to see the Prussian [occupiers]. . . . It made me feel good all day." The surrealists added, "France disgusted him. Her mind, her great men, her manners, her laws symbolized for him everything that was lowest and most insignificant in the world. . . . Everything that constituted your nasty little life revolted him; he spat it out." The surrealist text concluded, from the pen of Queneau, "Hypocrisy extends its hideous hand over men."

Rimbaud described himself as an "exile in his own country," and soon fled France for Africa. Breton was also, to a considerable degree, an exile in his own country. He had been outstanding in his denunciation of Stalinism during the 1930s and defended Trotsky at a time when masses of French leftist intellectuals, including a few of his former surrealist associates, acclaimed as the epitome of socialist justice the death sentences delivered in the Moscow show trials.

Coming to New York in 1941, Breton worked for the Voice of America, and upon returning to France at the end of the decade, he averred his support for the democratic forces in the Cold War. He was, in fact, something of a neoconservative *avant la lettre*—although one shouldn't push the comparison too far. Breton remained a utopian leftist who opposed French involvement in Vietnam and Algeria.

But considering that his most distinguished disciple, the Mexican poet Octavio Paz, ended up a defender of the Nicaraguan contras, I imagine Breton might have also had sharp comments on the refusal of his compatriots to support the liberation of Iraq. One might even say, in the surrealist manner, that the French are justified in their defeatism about their own wretched country; but they have no right to impose it on others. In revenge for his anti-Stalinism, his work was excluded from the French school curriculum by his Moscow-loving enemies after World War II, and he fell into an obscurity that lasted till his death (though the revolutionary ructions of the 1960s restored his stature). He seemed to anticipate that the collection he assembled would one day have to be broken up, and he accepted such a fate.

Nevertheless, his apartment in the Rue Fontaine was an extraordinary place. In 1981 I visited that apartment, which was maintained unchanged by his widow, Elisa Breton, until she died in 2000, and his daughter, Aube Elléouët. It took some time to find, because it was not an apartment building and the entranceway was not prominent.

Until the year before, Madame Breton, then sixty-nine, had shared the apartment with a Czech exile, Maria Cerminova, known as Toyen—a creator of delicate, erotic paintings in a rather precious style. Toyen had begun in the circle of Franz Kafka and was the last active survivor of the surrealist elite of the 1930s and 1940s.

Breton's residence had more the feeling of a cave than a regular apartment: one big room with a little staircase leading to another big room. The rooms were filled with books—but not the walls. Books sat on tables, chairs, everywhere: piled atop one another, in many languages, on every conceivable topic. Breton lived in a lake of books, broken only by a bed and a dining space, downstairs. But there was a reason. The walls, where bookcases would normally stand, were covered by paintings, photographs, sketches, "found objects," and "primitive" creations. At the head of the arch leading to the upper room Hopi *katchina* dolls were displayed, with elaborate, phallic tablets thrusting upward from their heads.

The most stunning items were the masks from New Guinea and the islands of the nearby Bismarck archipelago—authentic masterpieces, carefully chosen and cared for. The *New York Times* recently suggested that Breton's Oceanic pieces would fetch the highest prices at auction. I stood silent, gazing at the Pacific Islands art, then

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

picked up a book, at random, from a table: Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*.

Madame Breton served me Irish tea and sweet flat cookies. She spoke quietly in a mix of English, Spanish, and French, while I stared at the paintings hanging around the big room. The rooms seemed high up, as if perched on a crag. Suddenly, Madame Breton handed me a pamphlet with a gray-green cover, a prose poem, *Alpha and Omega*, by Edvard Munch, dated 1909 and translated by Elisa Breton herself. It had been lovingly handset, printed, and bound by a young friend of hers.

"He gave me only ten copies," she said, "for my friends. But you are my friend now, so here, take this one."

Surprised, I thanked her for the gift and tried to figure out something to say. She went on, describing the young printer, who worked in a hospital to earn a living and to support his small press. "He has also done some poems of Osip Mandelstam," she said.

The name of the greatest modern Russian poet, whose wife Nadezhda had died only two weeks before (her body stolen by the KGB to discourage demonstrations at her funeral), had an almost physical effect on me. "Yes," she said. "He was a very great poet. The equal of Apollinaire, and of André."

I was obsessed with Mandelstam in those years and had spent some time the week before searching out a complete edition of his poems in Russian. I had even gone to the famous Parisian Russian bookstore, the *Dom Kniga*, then owned by the Soviet government. I spoke of Mandelstam to nearly everyone I knew in Paris, carried away by his verse and his courage in the face of Stalinist repression. Never really political, always considered the prince of aesthetes and idol of decadent youth, Mandelstam died in the Gulag for the crime of a single poem against Stalin. Sadly, most of those I spoke to in Paris about Mandelstam were indifferent to him; there was so much talk there, of so many poets, in so many languages. To some "surrealists" Mandelstam was not inside the club, and was therefore of no interest (but the same could be said of Edvard Munch).

Breton with Salvador Dali and René Crevel.

Madame Breton and I continued drinking Irish tea and speaking, in Breton's cave, of Mandelstam. The two poets had more in common than nobility of language. Breton had been the first French writer of note to denounce the infamous trials engineered by Stalin; Mandelstam had gone further to assert truth in the face of totalitarian lies. There was even a strange coincidence between the lives of Breton and Mandelstam, of the kind the surrealists would have loved, had it been less grim. Breton was famous for the time he slapped the Russian Stalinist writer Ilya Ehrenburg, on the streets of Paris in 1935, after Ehrenburg had described the surrealists as drug addicts and pederasts. Mandelstam, the year before, had similarly slapped the Stalinist author Alexei Tolstoy. Did Breton know of Mandelstam's act? Probably not, and Breton's slap lacked the genuinely suicidal quality of Mandelstam's, which marked the beginning of the end for the Russian genius.

Strangely, Madame Breton and I spoke little about André Breton himself. I was there for a visit, not an interview, and it seemed to me enough to be allowed to sit and absorb the atmosphere of the place.

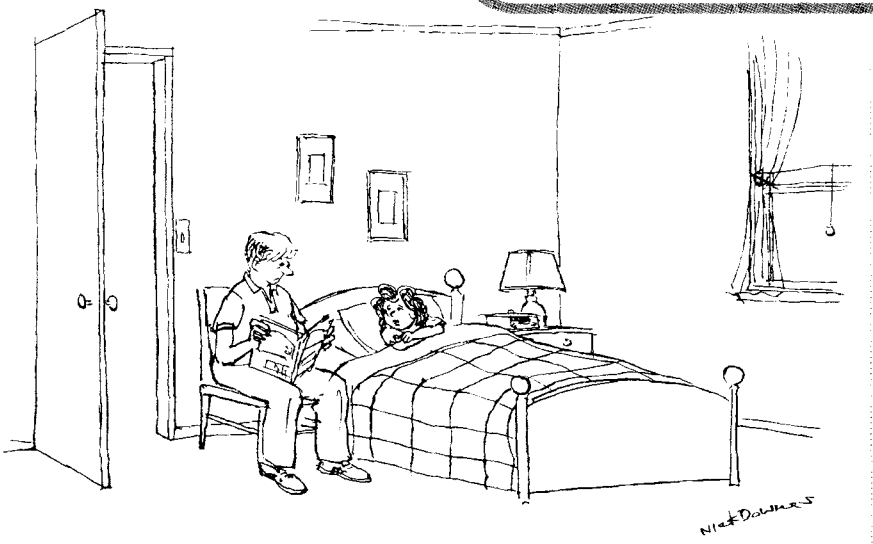
After a couple of hours the afternoon light was gone, and stars could be seen through the window. The telephone rang, and that was the most surrealist thing of all, for rather than the normal sound, the phone set off a buzzer like a doorbell. Madame Breton picked up the receiver and spoke for a few minutes, and I realized other, older friends were expected. I thanked her for her time, and got up to leave. For the last few moments I looked at her smile. It was more than serene; it spoke of generosity and justice. "I never knew anyone with more open eyes than André," she said. I could imagine how those eyes had found that smile. Outside, a light snow had begun falling.

I cannot believe any archive, foundation, or similar institution could preserve any of this; it was ineffable, and remains so. Nothing could be more surrealist than reality—and the reality is that the surrealist movement ended with Breton's death and cannot be perpetuated. Breton was like a goldminer. The ore he extracted survives, but time has passed, and with it, any claim of physical permanence has also vanished.

Still, I kept the little book Madame Breton gave me, and I plan to visit the auction house in Paris in the spring, notwithstanding France's latest disgrace. Some loves are immortal, even for a broken heart. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Standard Reader



"You read The Three Bears *better than all of Mom's other boyfriends."*

Not long after September 11, Michael Walzer asked, "Can there be a decent Left?" Watching his fellow progressives greet the destruction of the World Trade Center with "barely concealed glee," he concluded, "the Left needs to begin again." Now, in *Terror and Liberalism* (W.W. Norton, 128 pp., $21), Paul Berman has taken up Walzer's challenge. The book proves a damning indictment of bad leftism—but as a new beginning, it's something of a false start.

Berman raises two questions. The first is, Who are the terrorists, and what do they represent? The second is, Who are *we*, and what sort of political ideals should we stand for? In answer to the first question, Berman rejects Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations." He reminds us that most of America's recent military interventions were made on behalf of Muslims, for example in Somalia in 1993 and in Serbia in 1999. And he points out that many of the terrorists were not dyed-in-the-wool Muslims but people who had lived in the West.

In fact, Berman argues, the Islamists closely resemble the totalitarian movements that first emerged on Western soil at the beginning of the last century. The Islamic terrorists are the last heirs of Stalin and Hitler, and their intellectual roots are to be found less in the sands of Arabia than in the halls of the Sorbonne. Berman's efforts in this direction are strained. Nazism and communism were in rebellion against religion, while Islamists claim to speak for religion. A holy war has been declared on America, and for all of Islamism's resemblance to totalitarianism, the religious dimension will eventually have to be grappled with.

So, what political ideals should we ourselves stand for? Berman again looks to recent history for answers, resurrecting the anti-totalitarian liberal alliance of old that stood up to Hitler and Stalin, more or less. Indeed, herein lies the gravamen of Berman's argument. For the Left, in whatever guise, doesn't have a stalwart history of defense of liberal democracy. Not then and not now. As Berman points out, forty years ago, well-intentioned liberals "gazed at the craziest and most violent of the anti-liberal movements, and blinked, and saw no reason for upset." It was their faith in reason that disarmed them before genocidal dreams. They simply could not accept the fact that there were evil men in the world. A similar dynamic, Berman believes, is at work among progressives now.

This raises the obvious question of how a liberal, anti-totalitarian movement can be reconstructed, and it is here that his argument goes astray. He moves in the right direction by looking to Abraham Lincoln for a "war-like" liberalism. But his is a watered-down Lincoln. He reduces Lincoln's philosophy to "solidarity with the oppressed" and "defense of democratic self-rule," mostly by equating Lincoln with the pragmatism of James and Dewey.

The concoction is more Bill Clinton than Lincoln. It was Stephen Douglas, not Lincoln, who championed democratic self-rule: Let the locals, the senator said, vote slavery up or down as they please. Lincoln grounded his liberalism in a theory of natural rights, to which he brought a profound religious sensibility. A modern leftist cannot abide the elements that made Lincoln who he was. In his search for a "war-like" liberalism, Berman only feints toward Lincoln. He concludes: "The new rhetoric could hardly be Lincoln's—a rhetoric of popular will, of God, and of liberty: a language of nineteenth-century Christian America."

What Berman ends up resurrecting is the old 1990s saw of a Third Way (he calls it "a Third Force"), a kind of liberal politics that supposedly avoids the cynicism of the Right and the anti-American rhetoric of the Left. But surely on September 11, this liberalism was shown to be an illusion. Wasn't it the good humanitarians of Europe and America who sought to make excuses for the terrorists? Isn't it the liberal internationalists who shrink from opposing totalitarian-like movements with American might?

Still, Berman has written a smart and mostly honest book that should be read if only for the author's dry wit. Himself an opponent of capital punishment, Berman notes that the French are indignant over capital punishment in America. "Let the French look to places where the victims are buried by bulldozers," he quips. That's the kind of liberal we need more of.

—Adam Wolfson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nouvelle La Marseillaise

Claude-Joseph Rouget de l'Isle (1760-1836)
Lyrique moderne par L. F. Destouches

Supino e codardo, nel modo francese

Vocal/Solo

f Al - lons en - fants de la Pa - tri - e, Ren - dons - nous en - core dé - tes -

Awake to duty, children of the Fatherland. Let us once again make ourselves

tés! Nous ap - pro - chons chaque ty - ran - ni - e, A - vec la même ser - vil - i -

objects of scorn! We confront each and every tyranny, in the same posture of servility.

té. *ff* Nous bril - lons à la ser - vil - i - té! *p* L'A - mer - loque de - mande l'as - sis -

We excel at servility! And when the Yankee comes begging for our assistance,

tan - ce, Mais nous ri - ons dans son vis - age. *cresc.* Bien sûr, c'est no - tre hé - ri - tage: Plus tard

We laugh in his face. Of course, consistent with our noble traditions, we will all

nous join - drons la Ré - sis - tan - ce. *ff* George Bush_ est un sau - vage! La France__ a plus d'fro -

join the Resistance after the fact. George Bush is a primitive! France has a much greater variety

mages! Mar - chons, mar - chons! Fai - sons pa - rade de nos pré - ten - ti - ons.

of cheese! Let us march, Let us march! And thus make a great show of our pretensions.

the weekly Standard
March 31, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Designer Genes: Will They Wash?

Henry I. Miller, M.D., is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

A process called gene therapy has enabled scientists to create significantly smarter mice, demonstrating that a seemingly minor genetic alteration can improve performance on a wide range of learning and memory tasks. Aside from being bad news for cats, **the success of gene therapy for purposes of "enhancement" heightens the debate about the ethics of making designer humans.**

Gene therapy, the introduction of new genes into an animal or a human, can be performed for two purposes. Most commonly, physicians try to correct genetic or acquired disorders by getting the new genes to synthesize missing or defective gene products. But it can also be used for nontherapeutic purposes, such as overcoming baldness or enabling us to run faster.

Joe Tsien, the Princeton University molecular biologist who led the mouse-improvement research, has posed some ethical questions raised by genetic enhancement. "There will be issues of access and who can afford it. Whether the social wealthy class will have the intellectual advantage over poor people, these are real questions coming down the road."

But society already has come to terms with similar issues. Gene therapy for enhancement should be considered in light of society's permissiveness toward experimental medical and surgical interventions in general and those intended for nontherapeutic purposes in particular. Cosmetic surgery is performed for all sorts of nontherapeutic purposes. Drugs are frequently used for relatively trivial indications, such as modest obesity, age spots, and baldness. And there have been numerous clinical trials of appetite suppressants, memory- and performance-enhancing drugs, and human growth hormone for hormonally normal but shorter-than-average children.

Patients' psychological well-being and freedom to choose are also important considerations. "Mere" enhancement is not trivial to the adolescent boy who is six inches shorter than anyone else in his class or to many people of either sex who suffer hair loss. One need look no further than the huge societal demand for cosmetics, cosmetic surgery, and health clubs to be reminded how important people consider it is to look and feel good.

The issues surrounding whether a patient suffers from a condition that warrants treatment, the kinds and magnitude of risks, equal access to therapy, and the relationship between medical intervention and discrimination are fundamentally no different for gene therapy than for other interventions. Therefore, **innovations such as gene therapy, even when used for enhancement, should be treated similarly to other analogous medical and quasi-medical interventions**, except as scientific considerations may dictate.

The Economist asked in an editorial, "What of genes that might make a good body better, rather than make a bad one good? Should people be able to retrofit themselves with extra neurotransmitters to enhance various mental powers, to change the color of their skin, or lift heavier weights?" Its libertarian answer, "Yes, they should. Within some limits, people have a right to make what they want of their lives."

In view of what people want and what society permits in other realms, should not those limits be very wide?

— Henry I. Miller, M.D.

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of the 200-page, award-winning* **Hoover Digest.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU CAN'T PUT A PRICE ON THE

AMERICAN DREAM.

BUT AT FANNIE MAE WE CAN MAKE IT

MORE AFFORDABLE.

As our country continues to grow, so does the dream of homeownership. At Fannie Mae, our main purpose is to lower the cost of homeownership so that more families can experience the joy and pride of having homes of their own. That's been our goal for over 30 years. And our work is paying off. We help lenders offer mortgages to home buyers that save them as much as $25,000 over the life of a 30-year, fixed-rate conventional loan. So we continue to work in the pursuit of one goal — making the American Dream an affordable dream for everyone.

FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com

©2003, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The House logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED